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National Park Service
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Washington, D.C. 20013-7127

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THOMAS JEFFERSON'S VIRGINIA STATE CAPITOL: A CONSTRUCTION HISTORY, 1780s TO 1964

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Summer 1988

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The documentation of the Virginia State Capitol was undertaken by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) of the National Park Service and the Department of General Services (DGS) of the Commonwealth of Virginia. Principals involved were Robert J. Kapsch, chief of the HABS/HAER Division, and Wendell Seldon, DGS director. Paul D. Dolinsky, HABS architect, served as project manager, and Frances P. Alexander, HABS historian, as supervisory historian. Sara Amy Leach, HABS historian, edited the final document. The recording was conducted at the Virginia State Capitol by architectural historian Kimberly Prothro of the University of Virginia.

Ground-breaking scholarship on the Virginia Capitol was first undertaken in the early twentieth century by Fiske Kimball, who wrote extensively about Thomas Jefferson. Specifically, he was responsible for determining that Jefferson was the architect. Kimball's thorough study of Jefferson's designs and plans for the building were later cataloged by Frederick Nichols, without which any analysis of the drawings would be difficult. These drawings are now among the Jefferson papers housed in the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, and the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The most recent study of the Capitol is found in Karen Lang Kummer's master's thesis (1981) from the University of Virginia.

The preparation of this report was greatly assisted by a number of local organizations and state officials. Wendell Seldon and Dorothy Ivankoe of the Department of General Services provided an office and made many administrative arrangements.

Dr. Ella Gaines Yates of the Virginia State Library and Dr. Lewis Manarin of the Virginia State Archives were of immeasurable assistance. They, and their staffs, greatly facilitated research efforts. The Virginia State Archives and Library contains vast resources that include local histories and scholarly journals; an extensive collection of Richmond newspapers dating to the early nineteenth century; an excellent collection of historic photographs, engravings, and drawings; various commission papers and minutes; and the journals of the House of Delegates and Senate.

The librarians and staffs of the Valentine Museum and the Virginia Department of History Resources (formerly Division of Historic Landmarks), also repositories of excellent material on the Capitol, were very helpful in providing information necessary for this HABS project. The Valentine Museum library offers an additional photographic collection, as well as vertical files of old magazine and newspaper articles, and data on Richmond architects. The Virginia Department of Historic Resources possesses, perhaps, the most information on recent Capitol Square happenings, such as correspondence relevant to the proposed 1970s additions, and slides depicting models and watercolors of the proposals.

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INTRODUCTION

The Virginia State Capitol's long and complex history has interested historians since the late nineteenth century. Fiske Kimball, one of the foremost authorities on Thomas Jefferson, thoroughly analyzed the early history of the building in his doctoral dissertation (1915), while Karen Kummer's recent master's thesis (1981) provides a more comprehensive history of the building. Thus, this report seeks to chronologically trace the physical development of the building using existing sources rather than attempting to break new scholarly ground.

The purpose of this report is to provide a comprehensive, though not exhaustive, record of all alterations made to the Virginia State Capitol. In doing so, a bibliography has been developed that should be useful in directing future research. Extensive illustrations should indicate to the reader the breadth of graphic resources available.

The report has been divided into chapters that address the history of the Capitol from construction in the 1780s to its most recent renovation in 1964, including the landscape improvements, enlargements, 1870 fire, and subsequent competition for reconstruction. This last event, which resulted in the addition of the wings (1902-04) was the single-most dramatic alteration to the historic structure.

THE DESIGN OF THE CAPITOL

The Move from Williamsburg

Virginia had two colonial capitols, both located in the river port of Williamsburg. The first capitol building was constructed between 1701 and 1705; it was demolished in a 1747 fire. A reconstruction of this building stands today (fig. 1). The second capitol, a two-story, porticoed structure of palladian proportions, was constructed between 1751 and 1753, but it was abandoned in 1779 when the capital of the new commonwealth was moved to Richmond (fig. 2).

Located near the mouth of the James River, the capital at Williamsburg soon became inconvenient to the counties being established beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains. Furthermore, the proximity of the capital was no longer favorable to the commonwealth, as it was closely controlled by the now-hostile British naval power. By 1779, Williamsburg was being constantly besieged by the British, and the disadvantages of its geographical position could no longer be ignored. In May 1780 the General Assembly passed a resolution to establish the seat of government in Richmond. Chosen for its safe and central location and its position at the fall line on the navigable James River, Richmond and its small population of 1800 persons was, in essence, nothing more than a stopping point along the waterway. Despite a sizable and vocal contingent against the move, Richmond came to house what is now the second-oldest state capitol still in use.

Early Plans for Public Buildings by Thomas Jefferson

In response to the constant British attacks on the capital, Thomas Jefferson presented a bill to the House of Delegates on October 14, 1776, proposing to relocate the capital of Virginia. The proposal provided that "six squares of ground [in an undetermined place] surround each of them by four streets . . . appropriated to the use and purpose of public buildings." On these squares would be erected the three branches of government--legislative, executive, and judicial--each housed in a separate building. On one square Jefferson placed the Capitol to house the General Assembly; on another, the Halls of Justice and public jail; and on a third, a house for the executive boards and offices. Jefferson allotted two squares for the house of the governor, while the sixth and last square he set aside for the public marketplace. Experimenting with the unprecedented idea of separating the three branches of government, Jefferson began sketching out plans for the Capitol to accommodate both legislative bodies of the General Assembly (fig. 3). His idea consisted of a temple form flanked on each side by a portico. These porticos each featured eight columns that collectively spanned the full width of the building. The interior was arranged with the hall of the House of Delegates occupying the first floor, along with committee rooms and offices; the Senate was located on the second level. A central hallway ran two-thirds the length of the building from north to south.

Thomas Jefferson as quoted in Fiske Kimball, <u>Thomas Jefferson Architect</u>, (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1916), 31.

The Directors' Plans for the Capitol

Although Jefferson's bill failed to pass in 1776, a similar bill naming Richmond the capital was approved by the House of Delegates in 1779; and in 1780 Richmond became the capital of the commonwealth. In the first session, the General Assembly passed an act naming five of its members as "directors" of public buildings. The "men of distinction," including Jefferson, were responsible for selecting the grounds, choosing the plans, and selecting building materials. In accordance with the grid plan proposed by Jefferson in 1776, the directors prepared for platting the blocks and streets on Shockoe Hill. Shockoe Hill was originally owned by William Byrd who disposed of the property in a 1769 lottery. The purchasers of tickets had claims to certain lots or their value in money. Under legislative authority, the tickets were settled by an auditor who compensated the owner for the land. Thirteen acres of land between Ninth and Governor streets and Capitol and Bank streets were procured this way by the state.²

In October 1784, when Jefferson was serving as minister to France, the Assembly decided that construction of separate buildings for the branches of government was financially extravagant. Furthermore, a vociferous faction of legislators supported a return of the capital to Williamsburg. The directors were compelled to support a simpler scheme, a building that could be constructed more quickly and feasibly. The Assembly proposed that the three branches all be incorporated under one roof, but separated into different "apartments." With this in mind, the directors developed schematic plans for a rectangular structure with projecting porticos on the four facades, as is noted on the margins of the plan (fig. 4). The interior of the building was divided by a central passage with rooms of varying sizes on either side.

Jefferson and the Maison Carree

On March 20, 1785, the directors wrote to Jefferson in France enclosing their draft for the Capitol and asking for his help and advice on finalizing the design of the building. Jefferson responded positively, taking the opportunity to advance the state of architecture and, as he recollected later, to introduce to Virginia "an example of architecture in the classic style of antiquity." Prior examples of American classicism had been, almost without exception, based on Renaissance or eighteenth-century models usually known only through books. In contrast, Jefferson based his design directly on a first-century Roman temple in Nimes, France: The Maison Carree was touted as the "most perfect and precious remain of antiquity in existence" (fig. 5).³ Jefferson's model, then, was not a true Roman structure with which he was familiar, but a contemporary, Neoclassical interpretation of one. Jefferson conferred with Charles Louis Clerisseau (1722-1820), an architect well versed in ancient architecture and author of the widely known book, Antiquites de la France. Clerisseau was consulted on the adaptation of the temple form for a government building, both externally and in the internal distribution of rooms. Clerisseau and Jefferson concurred that, "As the building was originally a temple, and contained but a single room, it took some time to make the plan of the interior convenient for the three

² [William Price Palmer], <u>The Capitol Square and the Capitol at Richmond, Virginia</u>, (Richmond: Whittett and Shepperson, 1961), 7.

³ Thomas Jefferson, cited in Kimball, 40.

branches of government." Despite these difficulties, Jefferson stated preference for his plans over the draft sent to him by the directors. He also expressed dismay that construction on the building's foundation was to begin before his final plans were sent to Richmond. He implored these men to halt construction until he could send his drawings.

Evidently Jefferson's pleas went unheeded, and the cornerstone was laid on August 18, 1785, before his plans had even been sent from Paris. On January 26, 1786, Jefferson sent the ground plan and the front and side elevations, as prepared by Clerisseau's assistants, to the directors and suggested that the foundation be taken up and redone according to his own scheme. Apparently never completed, building sections were to have been forwarded at a future date along with a plaster model of the structure, as prepared by Clerisseau according to the final studies made by Jefferson.

Jefferson's Drawings

While the plaster model is preserved and on display in the Capitol (fig. 6), the final drawings have been lost. However, Jefferson scholar Fiske Kimball has determined three different study sets that may represent the Capitol. These drawings have been organized by academician Frederick Nichols so that each drawing has a "K" preceding its catalog number. The "K" indicates that the drawing can be found under that number in Fiske Kimball, Thomas Jefferson, Architect (Boston, 1916).

The first of these drawings (K110, fig. 7), was derived from Clerisseau's engravings found in Antiquites de la France.⁵ While the scale is greater than the Maison Carree, it conformed to the dimensions as already furnished by the directors' plan, while the proportions respected those of the ancient temple. In this first study, both the first- and second-floor plans are represented. The first floor, containing a central space two stories high, was to accommodate a statue of George Washington executed by sculptor Antoine Houdon. This space is surrounded by a peristyle of six columns on each side. At the north and south ends of the central space are two principal rooms, while the east and west sides are divided into shallow rooms containing the staircases. The second story of this study K111 (fig. 8), has the same major divisions as the first floor, except the north and south end rooms are subdivided into smaller spaces. The second and third studies both attempt to improve the proportions of the individual rooms and correspond to Jefferson's drawings K112 (fig. 9) and K113 (fig. 10). The first-floor plans of both studies are essentially identical to a cella (the interior space of a Roman temple) divided into three somewhat equal parts. Figure K112, however, portrays one-bay deep porticos at both ends of the building, while figure K113 shows no shadow of a colonnade.⁶

None of the elevations correspond exactly to any of the plans. Elevation K114 (fig. 11) is

⁴ Thomas Jefferson, cited in John Kevan Peebles, "Thomas Jefferson Architect," <u>The American Architect and Building News</u>, 47 (January 19, 1895): 29.

⁵ Fiske Kimball, "Thomas Jefferson and the First Monument of the Classical Revival in America," <u>Journal of the American Institute of Architects</u> 3 (September 1915): 424.

⁶ Kimball, 427; subsequent references to this article will be identified by author and page number.

attributed to plan K112 since it shows one-bay deep porticos at both ends. Side and front elevations K115 (fig. 12) and K116 (fig. 13) are the final preliminary studies and the accepted versions. Here the scheme retains the single portico of Jefferson's first studies and the ancient temple, but it is only two columns deep as opposed to the three found on the prototype. These changes are attributed to the advice given to Jefferson by Clerisseau, who suggested that more light could penetrate the building with a reduction of depth in the portico. Other differences between the Maison Carree and the Capitol, attributed to Jefferson, include the absence of pilasters on the side facades, substitution of the Ionic order for the Corinthian, added fenestration and recessed panels in the walls, and the use of brick as opposed to stone. Some of these changes, such as the use of brick, were probably the result of financial constraints, the lack of skilled craftsmen, and the expense of stone. Other changes, particularly the addition of windows, resulted from the adaptation of the Roman temple to a functional building.

The final difference between the Capitol and the Maison Carree occurs in the ornamental elements, a discrepancy that has received little attention in past scholarship. Inexplicably, the shape of the modillions was not patterned after its Roman model. In his book Antiquites de la France, Clerisseau indicates that the modillions found in the raking cornice of the pediment are backward when compared to the typical method. That is, the larger scroll of the modillion, which normally faces the wall with the smaller one projecting, is reversed so the larger scroll faces out and the smaller one in. In addition, the modillions in the raking cornice are perpendicular to this cornice, as opposed to being aligned parallel to the modillions on the regular cornice line. Ironically, Jefferson did not follow the idiosyncracies of the Maison Carree as pointed out by Clerisseau, but opted to place his modillions in the traditional manner found on most other Roman temples known at that time. In an effort to transform a Roman temple into an American public building, Jefferson ultimately modified his model such that the Capitol no longer resembled the Maison Carree except in its general mass and form (fig. 14).8

This form was further altered by the directors responsible for its construction. Jefferson was deeply involved in the project and took a special interest in designing a capitol for his home state. He was, however, in Paris--weeks away from activities in Richmond by mail--and incapable of overseeing the project to his satisfaction. In the end, it was the directors who had ultimate authority over the construction phase. While Jefferson was responsible for the design of the building, they were responsible for its execution according to, or against, Jefferson's recommendations.

The Construction Phase

By the time Jefferson's plans arrived in Richmond in summer 1786, it would have been politically imprudent to tear out the existing walls and foundations as he desired, as this would have only encouraged a return to Williamsburg--a move favored by a large membership of the General Assembly. Samuel Dobie, employed by the directors as superintendent of public buildings from at least 1786 until 1794, decided to adapt Jefferson's plan to the existing foundations. Dobie also

⁷ Charles Clerisseau, <u>Antiquites de la France</u> (Paris: no publisher given, 1804), 17.

⁸ Kimball, 427.

made changes to the facade, while adhering to the proportions Jefferson established. According to Kimball, Dobie--who the directors considered "adept in draughtsmanship"--did not even carry out this program completely.

Kimball determined that while the length of the building corresponds to the length of the foundations, the width is less than that of the foundations, but proportional to the width of the model. While the general increase, of approximately 10 percent, conformed to this change in dimensions, the columns and entablature, for reasons undocumented, were increased disproportionately by 14 percent. Although this subject has been largely ignored, it seems that Dobie assumed a certain authority in Jefferson's absence and, whether justified or not, made considerable changes to the building.

As executed, the Capitol building diverged significantly from the plans and elevations supplied by Jefferson. On the interior the general configuration of rooms and spaces remained as Jefferson intended; the end rooms, however, were widened, thus decreasing the size of the center space and causing the side windows to be unbalanced on the interior. Also, the galleries in the House of Delegates were rearranged. The plan, on the other hand, was executed according to Jefferson's design with the building entrances located at the center of its transverse axis. These entrance halls connect to a central space containing the statue of Washington. To the north was the hall of the House of Delegates (fig. 15), while the southern portion of the first floor accommodated the Supreme Court of Appeals. Above this room on the second floor was the Senate Chamber, next to which were offices for the Senate clerk and committee, and jury rooms. The second floor also housed a chamber for the governor and council, and a room for their clerk. These interior divisions established by Jefferson were respected and demonstrate the balance he was trying to achieve between the different branches of government. The principal rooms on the first floor--the court room and the House of Delegates--have an axial orientation, physically balancing the judicial and legislative branches of the government. Similarly, on the second floor, the Senate chamber and the governor's office, representing the legislative and executive branches of government, were located across from one another. This differs from the present arrangement, a precedent established by Benjamin Latrobe in the U.S. Capitol where the two legislative branches occupy axial positions on the same floor. 11

The exterior of the building was similarly modified in that the Capitol as executed did not conform exactly to Jefferson's plans or the plaster model sent from France. The greatest exterior differences occur in the elimination of the monumental flight of stairs that would have led to the south portico; the substitution of a baroque flight of stairs running at a right angle to the building, as opposed to the pair parallel to the outside wall as shown on the model; the facade of the basement level to a full story with the addition of windows to let light penetrate the offices; the addition of pilasters to each bay of the exterior walls; the change in character of the

⁹ Letter from Edmond Randolph to Thomas Jefferson in Julian P. Boyd, ed., <u>Papers of Thomas Jefferson</u> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 10: 133.

¹⁰ Kimball, 482.

¹¹ Kimball, 480.

door and window frames; the introduction of chimneys, and the use of the Scamozzi Ionic order (fig. 16).¹² Most of these changes in the building, both exterior and interior, can be attributed to Dobie, who was most likely responsible for the design of the dome. The section drawings of the building promised by Jefferson never arrived, and the plans and model neglected to supply information on the covering of the central hall, leaving the builders to devise their own solution.¹³ Again, Dobie asserted his authority in the construction of a dome that was accommodated to the square room by flat triangular soffits in the corners.

None of these changes was immediate, however; rather, they evolved with the erection of the building. The construction of the roof illustrates many of the problems encountered. In 1787 the directors contracted with Dobie to supply the Capitol with a flat roof. Unable to build it sufficiently watertight, in 1789 he advised instead to construct a gable roof and cover it with lead. By 1794 the lead sheets had torn loose from their joints and moisture was penetrating the roof sills and rafters. 14 In 1795 the Assembly appropriated \$5,000 to change the roof. According to the director of public buildings at that time, the roof could not be satisfactorily repaired. He ordered that the lead sheets be replaced with slate. But the process of manufacturing, transporting, and installing the slate was extremely slow and was eventually abandoned. 15 In December 1797, the roof was completely covered with fireproof wood shingles. Unrelated to the series of roofs was the addition of a parapet over the cornice--a feature also attributed to Dobie and evidenced only by the papers of the directors. In 1790 construction began on the front portico, but it did not proceed beyond the column shafts. Money was unavailable for several years, so the building stood with bare brick walls and columns without capitals. Finally, in October 1798, with appropriations made from the Assembly for completion of the building, stucco was applied to the exterior walls and initial construction of the Capitol was completed.

While this new building form was being introduced into Virginia to house its three branches of government, the architect remained in Paris fulfilling his duties as minister to France. Jefferson was very involved in the project and was able to send some drawings and a plaster model of his scheme based on the Maison Carree to Richmond, but beyond these proposals he was unable to assert much authority. Political and financial exigencies, as well as Jefferson's long absence from Virginia, undermined his involvement in the project. Many changes were made before construction began and they continued to be made during the erection of the building. As a result, the end product varied greatly from the scheme initially proposed. This situation, the financial constraints that dictated certain changes to the building, and the autonomy assumed by Dobie, all combined to produce a long and complex early history of the Capitol.

¹² Kimball, 482.

¹³ Kimball, 484.

¹⁴ Laurie Pitts Jones, "History of the Slate Industry in Buckingham County, Virginia" (M.A. thesis, University of Richmond, 1948), 18.

¹⁵ Jones, 19.

¹⁶ Kimball, 483.

LANDSCAPE DESIGNS AND CAPITOL IMPROVEMENTS, 1816-50

Maximilian Godefroy

Thirty years after its construction, even while the building itself was beginning to deteriorate, the Virginia Capitol still lacked a proper setting. Legislators complained that the interior was "rotting, soaked, nay deluged in water by the deficiency of the exterior. . . ."17 Similarly, the grounds around it were overgrown and marked by deep ravines and gullies. No landscaping had ever been undertaken, nor was any accomplished until February 28, 1816, when the Virginia Legislature empowered the governor to improve and enclose the surrounding grounds. As several local designers had been found unsatisfactory for the work, then Governor W. C. Nicholas sought others, and at the recommendation of friends, chose Maximilian Godefroy for the project. 18 Godefroy, a French designer in exile from the Napoleonic regime, spent fourteen years working in America, most consistently in Baltimore. His close working relationship with fellow neoclassicist Benjamin Henry Latrobe reinforced these design tendencies, which conformed well with the evolving tastes of Richmond citizens in the early nineteenth century. On June 18, 1816, the Governor's Council authorized his employment as engineer for improvements to Capitol Square. The \$400 payment was not only to include plans for the improvements to the grounds, but restoration work on the capitol building as well.

Godefroy arrived in Richmond in early July 1816 only to be overwhelmed by the rough and eroded ground and the primitive nature of the structures close to the Capitol. Despite his initial shock at the chaos, Godefroy managed to implement an orderly and uniform program for improving the grounds. In August the governor contracted for the leveling and improving of the public square according to Godefroy's plan and approved the erection of a stable on the site of the governor's mansion for use by the chief magistrate. Godefroy began immediately by laying out the terraces and walks and placing the fence lines. In September he completed the detailed instructions for fountains and plantings and, by November, his final drawings were placed on public display in the Capitol.

Godefroy's Landscape Design for Capitol Square

As can be seen from the plan found on a map of Richmond, 1835 (fig. 17), Godefroy intended to create an appropriate landscape for the Neoclassical capitol building. His elaborate scheme consisted of leveling the hill into two main terraces. The upper terrace stretched 50 feet to either side of the building and 100 feet in front of the south colonnade. This terrace was bisected behind the Capitol by a large avenue leading to the governor's mansion. On either side of the building, and below this main terrace, were two broad walks that became a semicircle on the

¹⁷ Robert Alexander, "Maximilian Godefroy in Virginia, A French Interlude in Richmond's Architecture," <u>Virginia Magazine of History and Biography</u> 69 (October 1961): 420.

¹⁸ Robert Alexander, Architecture of Maximilian Godefroy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 120.

¹⁹ Alexander, 121.

south side of the square and opened to a gate. At the top of the hill on the north side, there was another semicircle corresponding to that to the south, and a large, 100-foot-wide gate opening onto Capitol Street. This gate was to be the only entrance for carriages and horses, the others being only wide enough for pedestrian access.²⁰ This same arrangement was repeated on the lower terraces. On either side of the main axis were two long walks connected on the lower terraces by semicircular curves. While Godefroy omitted trees and plantings in the central area of the upper terrace to avoid obscuring the view to the Capitol, he planted the lower level with a formal array of linden and chestnut trees. At some point along the central walks, Godefroy planned to install fountains, though no representation of them survives.²¹ The Virginia Argus reported that Godefroy's plans called for marble basins to line these walks and that "a sufficiency of water may in the course of time be collected to form three cascades in each of those avenues."²² Furthermore, the newspaper reported that Godefroy planned a pavilion to be placed opposite G Street at an equal distance from the Capitol as the governor's mansion. The pavilion, or chateau d'eau, would mark a reservoir to supply the city with water. The pavilion would also encompass a depot for the fire brigade and a guard house, and would support a lantern or steeple that contained an alarm bell. While this part of the plan was probably never brought to fruition, most of the landscape designs were implemented and served to enhance the Capitol and provide it with a proper setting.

Exterior and Interior Renovations

Interior changes included complete replacement of the woodwork in the assembly room, the Senate chamber, and other areas, following the pattern of the original Federal woodwork.²⁴ The

²⁰ Virginia Argus, 27 July 1816.

^{2I} Alexander, 122.

²² <u>Virginia Argus</u>, 27 July 1816.

²³ Letter from Bernard Peyton to Thomas Jefferson, 18 June 1818 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society).

²⁴ Alexander, 125.

<u>Virginia Argus</u> also reported that his plans called for replacing the "Moorish style" moldings in the cupola (dome) with panels similar to those found in the Pantheon in Rome.

In August 1817 the governor submitted a report to the House of Delegates outlining the work that was contracted for and the expenses incurred for fees, materials, and equipment. The report determined that the total expenditures exceeded the amount originally appropriated, and that another \$17,482 was needed to complete the project. A vigorous debate ensued as some members considered the expenditures "frivolous expenses paid to the habits of old government." Appropriations were suspended until a committee, appointed to investigate the accounts relative to the improvement of the Capitol, advised on February 8, 1819, that the work be finished in order to continue the uniformity and beauty of the building and to protect it from injury and decay. This included construction of steps on the west side, the stuccoing of the basement story, the erection of the enclosure around the governor's house, and the completion of the stable attached to the governor's lot. Similarly, enclosure of Capitol Square, consisting of a stone base with iron railings and braces, was completed in 1819 to protect the improvements already accomplished and secure those that were again underway.

John Notman and the Picturesque Park

Godefroy's landscape designs were maintained for thirty-four years, until February 1850 when the erection of the Washington Monument in Capitol Square spawned interest in re-designing the landscaped area. The statue was originally to be placed on the south side of the Capitol, a space having been reserved on Godefroy's plan of 1816.²⁶ For an unknown reason, the site was moved to the west side of the Capitol on axis with Grace Street and the governor's mansion. Probably as a justification for changing tastes, the relocation of the statue provided the impetus for a new landscape design of the area. As formal landscape design had grown unfashionable, a committee on Capitol Square deemed a new scheme necessary for the entire Capitol Square.

It commissioned John Notman (1810-65), a prominent Philadelphia architect, to prepare a design for the "alterations and improvements" of Capitol Square. Notman, noted for his eclectic and picturesque designs, had two years earlier designed Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond. In May 1850, he arrived in Richmond to briefly meet with the committee of three--with whom Notman had previous dealings--and Superintendent of Public Buildings Charles Dimmock. Their only real stipulation was that Notman develop his plan in such a way that it could be executed gradually, in phases as funds became available, and that it not disrupt public enjoyment of the area during the process.²⁷

In July 1850 Notman finished his plan and sent it to Richmond where it met with approval. The details of Notman's plan cannot be clearly defined because these drawings are now lost.

Journal of the House of Delegates, 1817-18, 194-196.

Michael F. Conner, "Antebellum Urban Environmental Reform: Richmond, Virginia" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1980), 46.

²⁷ Conner, 43.

However, surviving written sources--including city council minutes and articles in <u>The Daily Times</u> newspaper--provide a fairly accurate reconstruction. Notman respected the bilateral symmetry established by Godefroy by leaving the area around and below the Capitol open, while planting trees on the eastern and western portions of the square. In addition, he designed two walks that paralleled the east and west sides of the building. The west walk, on axis with the Washington Monument, led south down the hill to a circular basin featuring a jet d'eau rising 30 feet into the air (fig. 19).

Without completely abandoning the formality of Godefroy's design, Notman was able to soften the lines of the previous plan by eliminating the rigidly defined walks and terraces, and replacing them with the "gentle, natural undulations" in the ground.²⁸ Similarly, Notman's walks were made of gravel and brick, and followed the natural contours of the land while providing numerous entrances and varied vistas into the square.

While leaving the predominance of the Capitol building uncompromised, Notman also emphasized the Washington Monument, thereby attracting viewers and strollers to the park. His plan actually went beyond the confines of the park and called for planting four different species of trees along the four streets bounding Capitol Square. These tree-shaded avenues he considered appropriate entrances into the square.

By September 1852 Charles Dimmock and John Morton, a local gardener, had implemented Norman's plan on the west side of the Capitol and had commenced work on the south. At this point Governor Johnson questioned the Assembly as to the necessity of remodeling the formal layout by Godefroy and the justification of spending so much money on such a program. The inquiry caused work to be halted and the east side of the square, having not yet been modernized, to retain its formality "like a prim old maid," described a local writer.²⁹

Sometime between 1856 and 1860, after Governor Johnson left office, work resumed according to Notman's plans and the once-formal layout was completely transformed--later to become known as the nation's first picturesque urban park.³⁰

²⁸ Conner, 49.

²⁹ Samuel Mordecai, <u>Richmond in By-Gone Days</u> (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1946), 76.

³⁰ MacMillan Encyclopedia of Architects, 1982 ed., s.v. "John Notman."

PROPOSED ENLARGEMENTS OF 1858

The growth of the Virginia legislature during the first half of the nineteenth century increased the use of the building dramatically, and by the 1850s its inadequacies began to be felt. As a result of the Constitutional Convention of 1829, Senate membership rose from twenty-four to thirty-two. To alleviate the problem of overcrowding, the Senate chamber was removed from its location on the second floor in 1840 to the Supreme Court of Appeals room on the first floor. But again in 1850-51, as a result of another Constitutional Convention, Senate membership further grew to fifty. This increase spurred an interest in altering the building to accommodate the growing number of occupants. In 1857 Governor Wise, in his report on public buildings, acknowledged that the Capitol building was too small to accommodate such demands and was in need of extensive and costly repairs. He also felt that the existing building, with its library made of wood, presented a fire hazard to the archives, library, and statue of Washington. His report recommended that a fireproof building, costing less than \$50,000 to construct, be built to house them as well as the offices of the members of the executive branch of government. The Capitol would then be used solely by the General Assembly.³¹

In February 1858 the House of Delegates also acknowledged the inadequate size of the building, but in light of the imminent Civil War, deemed construction of a new one too expensive. Instead, a bill presented to the House on February 5 proposed enlarging and improving the existing structure. Upon passage of the bill, the governor commissioned Albert Lybrock (1827-86), one of the first of several German-born architects to work in Richmond, to produce drawings for enlargements to the House of Delegates hall as well as other modifications. The drawings, all of which are extant, consist of two different series--measured drawings of the Capitol as it existed in 1858 and drawings demonstrating the architect's scheme to enlarge and improve the building.

Albert Lybrock's Proposal

Included in Albert Lybrock's proposal were plans, elevations, and sections. Generally, the enlargements consisted of increasing the size of the Senate chamber and the hall of the House, reorganizing the arrangement of seats in the hall, allowing additional space for galleries and lobbies, and providing more room for offices and committee rooms on the floor above the hall. With regard to improvements, Lybrock concentrated primarily on cosmetic changes, with a special interest in adhering to Jefferson's original scheme. Lybrock's plan for the main floor (fig. 20) was to enlarge the hall of the House by adding 18 feet to its width on the north end of the building, to enlarge and rearrange the Senate chamber to the center of the south end of the first floor, and to modify the galleries in both the hall and the chamber.

The addition of an intermediate floor at the north end and changes at the second-story level (fig. 21) would accommodate fourteen additional committee rooms above the House of Delegates hall.

The proposed modifications to the front (fig. 22) and side facades (fig. 23) show removal of the

³¹ Journal of the House of Delegates, 1857-58, Document 1, clv-clvi.

exterior steps from the side, and the erection of stone steps in front, of the building ascending to the portico, as Jefferson had originally intended. Furthermore, Lybrock sought to lengthen the first-floor facade windows and replace the door at the center with a window, while providing secondary entrances along the sides at the basement level and, finally, to remove the window in the pediment.

The House deemed all of these changes useful, and the committee recommended their adoption at a cost not to exceed \$46,210.³² Because of the impending war, however, the proposed enlargements and improvements were never carried out, and no mention of the project hereafter has been located.

The Measured Drawings

The measured drawings completed by Lybrock have great historical value because they provide an accurate and complete picture of the Capitol early in its history--and are particularly notable because they were made on the eve of the Civil War. The exterior elevations (figs. 24 and 25) show the window in the front pediment, added in 1801 to introduce more light to the garret, and the change in the side entrances according to Godefroy's alteration plan of 1816. Instead of the steps running parallel to the walls of Godefroy's Capitol, new stairs were installed running perpendicular to the building and leading directly away from the landing in front of the doorway. Entries to the basement offices were provided underneath the stairs. According to the Acts of the General Assembly, 1845-46, these changes, along with roof repairs, repainting, restuccoing, and reglazing, occurred in 1846.³³

The first-floor plan (fig. 26) reveals that the Senate (fig. 27) now occupied the position axially aligned with the hall of the House of Delegates that had originally been given to the Supreme Court of Appeals. According to the plans, the courts were no longer housed in the building, the second-floor Senate chamber having been given over to the state library (fig. 28). (The courts had been transferred to the court building on the southeast edge of Capitol Square.) Similarly, the types and arrangements of rooms found on the second floor conflict with Jefferson's description: "In the upper tier is a Senate chamber, 30 feet square, an office for their clerk, five rooms for committees and juries, an office for the clerk of the House of Delegates, a chamber for the Governor and Council, and a room for their clerk." Instead, both clerks' offices had been moved to the first floor across from the Senate chamber, reserving the whole second floor, apart from the library, solely for use as committee rooms. Despite the interior rearrangements, as seen on Lybrock's measured drawings, the alterations to the exterior stairs, opening of the window in the pediment, a series of new roofs, and new painting and restuccoing, the original fabric of the Capitol remained largely intact until 1870.

³² Kimball, 474.

³³ Karen Lang Kummer, "The Evolution of the Virginia State Capitol" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1981),25.

³⁴ Thomas Jefferson, cited in Kummer, Chapter 2, Note 34.

THE CIVIL WAR

The Transformation of the Capitol

The coming of the Civil War meant the already-crowded and dilapidated Capitol building would not receive the necessary repairs and enlargements. In addition, the situation was exacerbated by having to accommodate even larger numbers of people. After the bombardment of Fort Sumter, South Carolina, Virginia seceded from the Union and entered the Confederacy. Jefferson Davis reacted promptly, transferring the Confederate capital from Alabama to the more strategically located Richmond on May 29, 1861. The Capitol of Virginia, therefore, became the capital of the Confederate States of America. By November, four important bodies were holding meetings in the building—the Provisional Confederate Congress, soon to become the permanent Congress; the State Senate; the House of Delegates; and the Constitutional Convention. The interior had to be greatly rearranged to provide space for all. According to state records, the governor's office became the Confederate Senate, while the state Senate chamber was used by the Confederate House of Representatives. The Virginia House of Delegates stayed in its own hall of the House, while the Senate met in the Secretary of the Commonwealth's office.³⁵

Condition of the Capitol

Little mention of the Capitol building exists in either the <u>Journals of the General Assembly</u> or the newspapers publishing during the turbulent years between 1860-70. But considering that the enlargement and repairs proposed by Lybrock were never implemented, it can be assumed that the structure suffered from overcrowding and heavy use. The <u>Acts of the General Assembly</u> of 1862 revealed that the Assembly appropriated \$5,000 that year for repairs to the Capitol, while after the war, in 1866, \$10,000 was allotted for repair of the Capitol, governor's house, and grounds.³⁶

Despite the expected deterioration of the building from overuse, surprisingly it suffered only minor injuries during the war years. On April 2, 1865, news came to Richmond from General R. E. Lee at Petersburg to evacuate the city and prepare for the arrival of the Union Army. At 3 A.M. the retreating Confederate soldiers set fire to the warehouses of Richmond to keep Union troops from seizing the goods stored inside (fig. 29).³⁷ The fire leapt from one building to another, engulfing block after block of stores, houses, and public buildings. Only the Capitol and City Hall were saved from the ravages of the conflagration because of their elevated position on Shockoe Hill and the natural firewall of open space around them (fig. 30). On the morning of April 3, 1865, the Union Army advanced on Richmond and hoisted the Union flag above the Capitol--signaling all but the end of the Civil War.

³⁵ Acts of the General Assembly, 1862, Ch. 4.

³⁶ Acts of the General Assembly, 1866, Ch. 109.

³⁷ W.A. Christian, <u>Richmond, Her Past and Present</u> (Richmond: L.H. Jenkins, 1912), 259.

THE CAPITOL DISASTER OF 1870

April 27, 1870

Richmond suffered through five years of military occupation during post-war Reconstruction, which culminated in a catastrophe detrimental not only to the morale of city residents, but to the Capitol itself, which had so grandly survived the war. In February 1870, the General Assembly met in an attempt to reorganize the state government from military to civilian command. The Assembly empowered the governor to appoint a new council for the city of Richmond. Given this authority, the governor attempted to displace all military appointees and replace them with civilians.³⁸ Mayor George Chahoon, appointed earlier by the military commander, refused to give up his position when the new mayor, H. R. Ellyson, arrived to replace him. Ellyson, disregarding Chahoon, set up court at City Hall and organized a police force of loyal supporters. A major court case developed that ultimately came before the Court of Appeals.³⁹ The opinion was to be delivered on April 27, 1870, in the Supreme Court of Appeals room (again located on the upper story of the Capitol because the Courts building had burned in the evacuation fire of 1865), above the east half of the hall of the House of Delegates. On this day, a large crowd of citizens interested in the fate of their city had assembled to hear the final decision of the judges. The gallery of the courtroom was densely packed, as was the Clerk's room immediately underneath it. Similarly, the space in front of the bench and bar was filled to capacity. As the judges filed in with their decision, the spectators rose. The resulting motion caused the gallery to give way. The impact as it fell to the center of the courtroom, coupled with the surge of the crowd, caused the whole floor of the courtroom to break from the walls and collapse into the hall of the House of Delegates below (fig. 31).40 Public servicemen and citizens who rushed to the aid of victims later documented the disaster in letters and newspaper articles, but neglected at the time to record it photographically. The catastrophe killed sixty-two people, wounded 250, destroyed the Supreme Court of Appeals and the Clerk's Office and did much damage to the hall of the House of Delegates, where all the desks and seats on the east side were crushed.

Aftermath of the Collapse

The following day, April 28, the <u>Daily State Journal</u> reported that "it is freely circulated in the streets" that the Capitol building was to be condemned as unsafe, pulled down, and a new one of native granite erected in its place. These rumors were further supported on April 30, when it was reported that Governor Floyd pronounced the present structure as insecure and suggested taking it down and the construction of a new one. The <u>Daily State Journal</u> strongly supported such action and a new building that would "conform to the improved architectural taste and the perfected engineering science of today." In contrast to newspaper items, the <u>Journal of the House of Delegates</u> reported that the committee on public buildings was to inquire into the expediency

³⁹ Christian, 316.

⁴⁰ Daily State Journal, 27 April 1870.

of taking the building down to the floors of the House and Senate, and rebuilding the same. A debate over the advantage of repairing or erecting anew must have ensued, for on May 2 the committee on public property was instructed to develop a bill providing for the erection of a new capitol building, while on May 7 it was resolved to appoint a five-member committee to hire three architects to examine the Capitol to determine the feasibility and the cost of repair. Finally, on June 3, a House bill was passed appropriating funds to pay for repairs to the building and to buy chairs and desks for the House of Delegates. One week later, on June 10, the bill passed in the Senate. Further accounts supply details of the repairs and restoration, enumerating only that the old building was repaired and the work was contracted to a General Newberry.

Richmond suffered through the difficult decade from 1860 to 1870, years of war and military occupation. The Capitol, already in need of renovation before the war, suffered more intensive use as the Confederate legislature. It is ironic, however, that a building which survived war and a fire that destroyed the entire city should suffer the most damage when the city should have been returning to normalcy. Fortunately, the economic devastation of the Civil War prevented the legislature from approving the demolition of the building in order to replace it. Not until more prosperous times returned almost thirty years later did ideas of a new or improved building germinate.

⁴¹ Journal of the House of Delegates, 1870-71, 396-400.

⁴² Journal of the House of Delegates, 1870-71, 493.

⁴³ Christian, 320.

THE DESIGN COMPETITION OF 1902

Prelude to the Competition

Despite the rebuilding of the Capitol after the catastrophe of 1870, talk of a thorough structural overhaul and fireproofing (following the development of structural steel in the 1880s) began in 1895 and persisted until the turn of the century. In February 1902, Governor A. J. Montague impressed upon the Assembly the need of such work in a report stating that "the condition of the Capitol building is a reproach to the State." After reading the governor's report, the Senate passed a resolution requesting the governor to invite plans and specifications from competent architects for the renovation and repair of the interior and exterior of the Capitol building. The House agreed to the resolution on February 21, 1902; by March the Richmond Times reported that although the scheme was unformed, \$100,000 had been appropriated by the General Assembly for the repair and renovation of the building. The bill, which passed on April 2, 1902, stipulated that exterior architectural features remain unchanged, but according to the Times, this did not specifically prohibit an enlargement.

According to the Times, the scheme was believed to include an extension along the north side. It stated that the north wall of the Capitol would be taken down and the building extended 15 or 20 feet. This would increase the hall of the House of Delegates and provide more room for offices and committee rooms on the second floor. Another important change promoted by the General Assembly included the fireproofing of the building. The garret, stocked with flammable material, posed a major threat of fire, and no fire escapes existed. The newspaper reported that to change this a second stairway would be built, the present one renovated and a new elevator installed to replace the existing one. Final improvements, according to the Times, included replacing the woodwork and obtaining new furniture for the legislative halls. The newspaper accounts impress upon the reader that these were the general ideas, but that no precise scheme for renovation had been decided upon by the General Assembly. Instead, at the end of March the General Assembly organized a five-member committee to study the removation and remodeling of the Capitol. While strongly emphasizing that the entries respect the restrictions set forth in the appropriations bill of April 2, the committee quickly invited all Virginia architects to submit a proposal for change before May 6, 1902.⁴⁵ Beyond the obvious desire to have such a project completed expeditiously, no explanation for the short time limit can be found. After several requests for extensions, the competition participants were finally granted an extra week. Five non-resident architects were also invited to participate, but none submitted proposals. McKim, Mead and White, for example, declined simply because its office was too busy with other commissions.46

⁴⁴ <u>Journal of the Senate</u>, 20 February 1902.

⁴⁵ Kummer, 31.

⁴⁶ Kummer, 31.

Presentation of Drawings

The competition, organized by the committee in charge of the Capitol renovation, was hastily put together. Despite the troubled beginnings, on May 12, 1902, six Virginia architects submitted plans for the enlargement and improvement of the building. The work ultimately implemented was a combination of entries submitted by three firms. Though a collaborative effort, each firm most likely had unique and specific duties. Examination of these three entries offers an idea of their individual contribution to the final composite plan, while the three losing entries provide an insight into the preferences of the committee.

Not all six entries are extant (or, perhaps, never existed beyond a schematic plan), but something of each is known. The entries of the three firms eventually chosen as the designers of the composite plan are examined here: Noland and Baskervill, Frye and Chesterman, and John Kevan Peebles. In addition, the work of P. Thornton Marye, M.J. Dimmock, and D. Wiley Anderson-none of which evolved beyond the initial concept--will be discussed.

Noland and Baskervill

The Richmond [Times] Dispatch followed the design competition closely, elaborating not only on the politics of the situation, but on the architectural schemes as well. On May 15, 1902, the newspaper reprinted a sketch of the Capitol exterior, with the changes proposed by Noland and Baskervill (fig. 32). While preserving the building, it proposed only to carry out Jefferson's intention of broad entrance steps along the south facade, to remove the present entrance steps on the east and west sides, and to remove the windows in the pediment. From the sketch and plan that appeared in the same issue of the newspaper (fig. 33), Noland and Baskervill intended to extend the center three bays of the south facade 15 feet upon the present portico, and install an entrance on either side of this extension. The staircase would not be an uninterrupted type, as intended by Jefferson, but would be divided at the center to help filter people into the doors on either side of the extended Senate chamber. By pushing out the end of this south wall to provide for more interior space, Noland and Baskervill's plan would have transformed the shape of the original building slightly. But despite this one modification, they did little else to compromise the lines of the Capitol and actually returned it, with the addition of the stairs and the elimination of the pediment windows, to its intended form.

The competency with which Noland and Baskervill handled the enlargement and improvements to the Capitol indicates their familiarity with classical forms and elements. Having established the firm a few years earlier in 1897, the two principals were relatively young men at the time of the competition. Despite this inexperience, they were already well respected and closely connected to the elite society of Richmond.⁴⁷ Perhaps through these connections it received numerous large commissions, including the Virginia State Insurance Company Building, Dooley Hospital, and the Y.W.C.A., as well as the addition to the State Capitol. For new designs, the firm tended to adopt elements from the Italian Renaissance, while reducing ornament and detail to

⁴⁷ Elizabeth Updike, "Richmond's Renaissance Man: Henry Eugene Baskervill" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1987), 8-9.

emphasize structure.⁴⁸ In their plans for the Capitol, this translated into historicism; their appreciation of the past kept them from greatly altering the classical lines that Jefferson established. As it was executed, the addition of wings to the Capitol building was not at all a part of the initial scheme proposed by this firm and, in fact, deviated from their intention of keeping the enlargement as inconspicuous as possible. With all the complications, changes, and inclusions in the program, Noland and Baskervill's major influence was probably in the implementation of the south portico stairs, the elimination of the pediment windows, and other minor cosmetic changes.

Frye and Chesterman

While no drawings of the scheme developed by this Lynchburg-based firm have been located, information concerning their ideas on the renovation can be gleaned from newspaper articles that covered the competition. On May 15, 1902, just a few days after the architects made their initial presentations, the <u>Richmond [Times] Dispatch</u> claimed that Frye and Chesterman's plans for the rearrangement of the interior were best-suited to the needs of the legislators. The paper states that while Noland and Baskervill preferred retaining the arches on the lower level, Frye and Chesterman favored devoting the entire basement level for use as additional work space.

On May 24, 1902, the paper described the composite plan developed by the firms Noland and Baskervill and Frye and Chesterman firms. Evidently Frye and Chesterman wanted to house the offices of the Clerk of the House and the Clerk of the Senate in the basement, relocate the governor's office from the north to the south side of the building and, perhaps to gain more space, substitute metal walls for the heavy masonry walls that separated the lobby from the House and Senate chambers. Although the final form of the composite plan included the extension of the Senate chamber onto the portico, the paper erroneously reported that the composite plan abandoned this feature, indicating that this transformation did not originate with Frye and Chesterman. In comparing the initial scheme of Noland and Baskervill and the composite plan, it can be safely assumed that Frye and Chesterman's early scheme and contribution to the final enlargement consisted of rearrangements and improvements to the interior of the building.

John Kevan Peebles

Initially rejected by the commission, John Kevan Peebles' plans did fall within the scope of the resolutions under which the architects were instructed to draw plans. The committee concluded that his scheme--the addition of the wings--compromised the autonomy of the present building. Furthermore, it was argued that the wings could not be constructed within the budget appropriated for the project. But Peebles repeatedly emphasized, in letters to the commission, the importance of increasing the available space in the Capitol. In a letter to the Capitol Building Commission dated December 10, 1902, Peebles explained the advantages of his program over the composite plan presented by Noland and Baskervill and Fry and Chesterman, as well as an entirely new building. He claimed that the wing additions would provide the same

⁴⁸ Robert Winthrop, Architecture in Downtown Richmond (Richmond: Historic Richmond Foundation, 1982), 11.

⁴⁹ Richmond [Times] Dispatch, 15 May 1902.

accommodations of a new building at much less cost and, at the same time, would preserve the present historic structure. In response to the initial complaint that the wings altered the structure's autonomy, Peebles contended that the extension of wings along the transverse axis would in no way interfere with the present structure, while in contrast, the extension of the building along the longitudinal axis, as proposed in the composite plan, would destroy the proportions of the building. The wings, to be erected on the east and west sides of the Capitol, would house the Senate and House chambers, while the existing Senate chamber would be used as committee rooms or the governor's office. The House would be transformed into the Supreme Court of Appeals, and steps would be added to the south facade of the building.

Ironically, by adding the steps to the south portico (and conforming with Jefferson's original design), Peebles was as guilty as Jefferson of misrepresenting the interior of the building on the exterior. In an article Peebles wrote on Thomas Jefferson (1895), he claimed the Capitol building "fails to satisfy one of the most important canons of architectural design in that its exterior belies its interior." He supported this by showing that the true entrances to the building are on the sides, even though the portico reads as an entrance.

Although respecting Jefferson's design for the south portico, Peebles wanted to overcome this fault in his own design through an addition to the Capitol. He was evidently very careful to reveal interior space and function on the exterior in his wing design. The wings east and west of the main block were clearly meant to house the two legislative bodies of government. At the same time Peebles was a true admirer of Jefferson and did not want to compromise the original architect's design. His design, therefore, included recessing the wings from the main block, connecting them with unobtrusive hyphens, and articulating them with the Ionic order as chosen by Jefferson for the Capitol.

The Capitol addition was not Peebles' first experience working with Jeffersonian buildings. Educated at the University of Virginia, Peebles was responsible for a number of constructions at the university. He designed the classical Fayerweather Hall in 1893 and orchestrated the hiring of McKim, Mead and White (the premier interpreters of Beaux Arts classicism in America) to restore the Rotunda.⁵¹

P. Thornton Marye

According to the most recent scholarship, no information concerning P. Thornton Marye's entry into the competition exists. While no illustrations and drawings have been found, a short written description of his scheme did appear in the <u>Richmond [Times] Dispatch</u>. The May 14, 1902, edition explains that a variety of plans were submitted to the building commission, including one by Marye, of Newport News. His plans called for the preservation of the building in its present form; he intended only to remove the existing steps and add, instead, a handsome entrance flush

John Kevan Peebles, "Thomas Jefferson Architect," <u>American Architect and Building News</u> 47 (January 1895): 29.

⁵¹ Winthrop, 241.

with the wall. Somewhat minimalist, this scheme was not seriously considered.⁵²

Marion J. Dimmock

As one of Richmond's most prolific architects during the years between the Civil War and the turn of the century, Marion J. Dimmock not surprisingly submitted an entry into the Capitol building competition. While his proposal, as a principal of Dimmock and Tolman, was initially rejected after the May 1902 presentation, interest in the scheme was renewed as the financial problems with the accepted composite plan became insurmountable. On November 30, 1902, the Richmond Times published a plan (fig. 34) and perspective drawing (fig. 35) illustrating Dimmock's scheme, which included a written description of his plans.

The building exterior would remain unchanged except on the north facade where a semicircular bow would project on the first-floor level, to house a greater number of seats in the hall of the House of Delegates and visually balance the weight of the portico on the south facade. The south facade was left unchanged, as were the east and west approaches, which he argued provided a direct entry into the center of the building.

The addition increased the interior size of the hall by 715 square feet, while a reorganization of the Senate chamber provided an addition of 488 square feet over the old arrangement. Keeping the main entrances on the east and west, Dimmock saw no reason to open up the south facade of the building. He therefore proposed extending the Senate chamber almost the entire width of the south end, allowing the southeast and northeast corners to be used as an office for the chief clerk and as a retiring room, respectively.⁵³ No mention of this scheme exists after this date. Either openly opposed by the building committee or simply not pursued strongly enough by the architects or public, Dimmock's plan was never seriously considered either by itself or in combination with other proposals.

D. Wiley Anderson

One entry never developed beyond its initial conception was produced by another well-known Richmond architect, D. Wiley Anderson. Anderson has been categorized as a proto-modern architect--that is, one who emphasized the underlying structural system of the building while clearly expressing it in elevation. His proposal for the Capitol appears as a perspective drawing in his own publication, Short Reviews, A Few Recent Designs (fig. 36). The drawing shows his scheme for repeating the southern portico on the north, and adding smaller projecting porticos on the east and west facades. The plan shows a remarkable similarity to the first plan for the Capitol building as developed by the directors of public buildings, whereby four porticos surrounded the rectangular structure. Anderson also wanted to extend the center three bays of the south facade 20 feet onto the portico, as Noland and Baskervill had done. He also proposed

⁵² Richmond [Times] Dispatch, 14 May 1902.

⁵³ Richmond [Times] Dispatch, 30 November 1902.

⁵⁴ Winthrop, 11.

erecting a cupola above the dome and central core of the Capitol. Judging from a perspective drawing, an octagonal drum would support an elliptical dome, both cut with openings to let more light penetrate the central space. The basement level would have entrances on all four sides, while the principal approaches were retained on the east and west at the first-floor level. This scheme was classical but diverges enormously from the Roman form sought by Jefferson. The function of the building is made more visible--the east-west approaches are emphasized by small projecting porticos, and the dome and central core of the building are no longer hidden beneath a ridge roof, instead openly displayed by the cupola. Anderson's proposal represented aggressive intervention. Perhaps because of this digression from the original building and its prototype, this solution was never fully considered. If it had not been for Anderson publishing his drawing, no evidence of it would remain. The newspapers neither discussed nor illustrated the design, but simply mention the architect's entry into the competition.

The Composite Plan and Compromise

The commission quickly rejected the plans of four of the participants, but was left undecided on the entries of the firm Frye and Chesterman and Noland and Baskervill. On May 14, the commission asked the two firms to produce a composite plan, which was adopted as final on May 23 (fig. 37).

The perspective drawing of the composite plan illustrates the chief exterior changes to the building, while a schematic drawing found in the <u>Richmond [Times] Dispatch</u> exhibits the main components of change in plan (fig. 38). On the exterior, Noland and Baskervill and Frye and Chesterman proposed projecting the center three bays of the Senate chamber 15 feet onto the portico, and having entrances on each side of this projection. They added a monumental flight of stairs the length of the south portico, and eliminated the stairs on the east and west facades. New entrances would be provided at the basement level, and a new roof was proposed.

The interior arrangements included a complete reconstruction of the basement level and the relocation of the Senate chamber so it would occupy the center of the south end instead of the southwest corner of the main floor. Between the chamber and the lobby would be a Senate cloak room to the right and a House cloak room to the left. Furthermore, galleries at the rear of the Senate chamber were proposed, while new galleries were planned for the House. The seats in the House were to be placed in a semicircle as they existed in the Senate.⁵⁵

By September, the completed plans, specifications and working drawings of the composite plan were ready for review, but in November a series of articles in the Richmond newspapers indicated that members of the legislature were dissatisfied and divided over the work to be done. On December 6, 1902, the <u>Richmond [Times] Dispatch</u> reported that an agreement had not been reached. According to the newspaper, the working drawings of the composite plan were prepared on the basis of the estimated construction cost of \$102,000. But when the bids were opened, the lowest was \$13,000 more than the estimated cost and \$15,000 above the sum appropriated by the General Assembly. In a quandary, the commission debated whether to ask for an increased appropriation or to do away with part of the scheme established in the composite plan. In order

⁵⁵ Richmond [Times] Dispatch, 27 May 1902.

to reach a decision, the committee invited members of the Finance Committee to meet with them and the architects of the two firms involved. At this meeting the architects showed three possibilities for repair and renovation.

The first plan, and the only one for which a drawing survives, was the composite plan originally selected by the commission (see fig. 37). Their second proposal provided for a stairway to the portico on the south end, with an entrance through the present Senate chamber to the rotunda. The chamber would be displaced to the second story. The third plan dispensed with the stairs at the south end of the building and left the Senate chamber unchanged. It simply provided for fireproofing the structure, the addition of a new roof, and a new coat of stucco. This was the most economical solution that addressed only the most urgent needs. It also adhered most closely to the demand that exterior features remain unchanged. However, it failed to provide additional space to an overcrowded building. On the other hand, the composite and the second plans both added stairs to the front of the building, changing its existing aspect, while the composite plan also provided for a projection onto the portico. This projection was not highly disrespectful, but it did alter the lines of the structure while not significantly increasing the interior space. Indeed, none of the plans sufficiently augmented interior space and offered little more than cosmetic improvements to the building.

Expected to give its recommendation on December 6, the commission-apparently unconvinced by any of the three choices--was unable to announce a decision. The House was equally dissatisfied by the project, probably for both financial and architectural reasons. Some members favored repealing the \$100,000 appropriation and supplying instead \$25,000 for inexpensive repairs, including a new roof and stucco work. Other members opted for the second plan with some changes to bring the cost within limits, while still others recalled a plan produced by Peebles. The Peebles plan had been rejected by the committee as it was thought to exceed the appropriation and was considered to alter the autonomy of the present structure. On December 11, the resolution adopting the second plan was defeated. The Richmond [Times] Dispatch reported that the majority of the Senate members wanted no change made to the exterior of the building, but wanted the interior to be rendered safer and more convenient, while remaining within the \$100,000 appropriation. The situation was becoming still more confusing, not due to lack of interest in the project, but because the committee was unsure how to implement the plans. The \$100,000 appropriation was seemingly the limit on the amount to be spent, yet no thoroughly satisfactory solution existed for the sum appropriated. It was unclear whether the funds should be spent on immediate repairs, or whether it should be saved to augment later appropriations that would allow for more extensive renovations. In response to these concerns, a number of amendments were presented in this session, but according to the newspapers, no conclusions were drawn.

Peebles' Plan

In response to the legislators' renewed interest in the scheme provided by Peebles, the Richmond [Times] Dispatch reproduced the plan and elevation on the front page of the December 4, 1902, issue (fig. 39). The plan consisted of wings on either side of the Capitol to serve the two legislative bodies, thus rendering it more of the standard American form for state capitols. The existing Senate chamber would be transformed into committee rooms or the governor's office while the House would be given over to the Supreme Court of Appeals room. The architect also proposed erecting stairs to the front portico. Peebles is quoted as saying that his proposal did not alter the present building or interfere with its design. Conversely, he contended, the supposedly innocuous enlargement across either the south or the north end would greatly destroy the proportions of the structure. This approach was obviously intriguing to many members of the legislature who encouraged other members to reconsider earlier solutions. On December 17, the Senate requested that the architects who furnished plans to the commission place them or copies of them in the rotunda for the perusal of the members of the legislature.

Conclusion

To date, the 1902 designed additions to the Virginia Capitol building have been considered a completely collaborative effort between three firms. Scrutiny of the different entries into the Capitol building enlargement, however, and more specifically the separate schemes of Noland and Baskervill, Frye and Chesterman, and John Kevan Peebles', one can more easily determine the extent of participation of the individual firms. The initial competition plans reveal that Peebles had the greatest influence on the final design for the addition. The exact role of the other two firms cannot be precisely determined, but it can at least be assumed that their ultimate participation was much more technical than theoretical. The main form had already been determined by Peebles, and Noland and Baskervill and Frye and Chesterman simply helped to implement the plans while supplying suggestions and plans for the internal modifications.

Ironically, the scheme having the greatest influence on the final form was one originally rejected by the renovation-selection committee. If not for the financial problems that kept the first composite plan by Noland and Baskervill and Frye and Chesterman from being constructed, the idea of the wings would never have matured. Peebles' insistence through letters to building committees and the General Assembly proved successful, and his rationale for choosing his own design over others was convincing. Peebles apparently did not want to miss out on such an important commission as the addition to the Virginia State Capitol. Because of his collaboration with the two other firms, Peebles was able to make his mark on the first mornument to the classical revival in America.

THE 1904 ADDITION

Aftermath of the Competition

No immediate decisions were made regarding the competition and no mention of the Capitol building expansion exists in either the Senate or House journals or the newspapers until May 1903--one year after the competition. On May 3, 1903, an article in The [Richmond] Times claimed that the Capitol was in very bad condition and a menace to those using it. The General Assembly appointed a committee to examine the condition of the building and to make recommendations for its improvement. According to the Journal of the Senate, the committee recommended that repairs be made in such a way so as to not interfere with anticipated future enlargements. While this resolution was accepted in the Senate, the House--most likely wanting to hold on to the funds for more sweeping future changes--rejected it, leaving the issue once again unresolved.

Perhaps taking advantage of additional funds that had become available, the Senate finally presented a bill on December 9, 1903, to appropriate \$150,000 more for the enlargement, restoration, and repair of the Capitol building. After a letter from Governor Montague to the General Assembly on January 13, 1904, encouraging the construction of the wings, the Senate passed a bill repealing the \$100,000 appropriation and providing \$250,000 for the work. All parties involved welcomed the proposal, which was approved by the General Assembly on March 7, 1904. The act stipulated that the \$250,000 be expended under the supervision of the governor and six members of the General Assembly--three from the House and three from the Senate--and that the enlargement of the Capitol be made by the erection of wings according to the plan submitted by Peebles and embracing the ornamental plans for the extenor as shown by Noland and Baskervill and Frye and Chesterman.

In essence, this scheme consisted of separate buildings for the House and Senate, which were connected to the Capitol by passageways (fig. 40). In an effort to leave the old building uncompromised, the architects sensitively executed the wings so they were lower and set back from the Capitol. They were connected to the main block by corridors on the east and west sides and were penetrated on the exterior by flights of stairs. Each of the three sides of the wings are identical and reflect the form established by Jefferson. Four freestanding columns support a slightly projecting pediment on the three sides of both wings while resting on a raised basement level with windows.

The Construction Phase

According to the Report of the Committee on the Enlargement, Restoration and Repair of the Capitol Building, the renovation of the old building and the addition of the east and west wings were turned over to the contractor on August 1, 1904.⁵⁷ The building was completely gutted so that only the exterior walls and columns remained (fig. 41). The side porches and interior brickwork were removed, leaving only the south end of the basement story intact. The old brick

⁵⁷ Journal of the Senate, 1906, Document 3.

was used in the new construction at the foundation and basement levels.⁵⁸ To stabilize and fireproof the building, it was equipped with structural steel and fireproofing materials. Even the columns of the portico were reinforced, while the capitals and bases were enlarged to correspond to the increased diameter. Along with the change in diameter, the columns were given entasis, the pediment was lowered, and the modillions were enlarged.⁵⁹

For increased convenience and comfort, new ventilation flues, a fireplace and chimney in the governor's office, a new basement entry at the north end, a new elevator, and two new interior staircases were added. While all the old stucco was removed and renewed, selected portions of the interior woodwork were salvaged and used again. A publication enumerating the work to be executed, specifying all the fireproofing materials and techniques to be used, was produced and can be found in the Virginia State Library and Archives.⁶⁰

Ironically, after all the delay due to lack of money, the final bid for construction amounted to only \$169,000. To use the whole \$250,000 appropriated, the committee invited suggestions from the architects to change the specifications that would enhance the beauty and stability of the building. The changes made on the building included the following: the beltcourses at the basement and first-floor sill lines were crafted of stone instead of stucco, limestone sills were used in the windows of the wings instead of concrete, terra cotta caps on the pillars and pilasters replaced concrete ones, and the frieze was made of stone and the cornice of terra cotta instead of the stucco and galvanized iron, respectively, as intended. Furthermore, the portico floor was covered with marble and marble wainscoting lined the corridors. By making these changes, the building was constructed for a total cost of \$244,752.75, about \$5,200 less than the amount finally appropriated by the General Assembly.

As the new wings accommodated the legislative bodies, the old hall of the House of Delegates and the Senate Chamber were assigned new functions. The hall of the House was converted into an agricultural museum to house exhibits from the St. Louis Fair, while a portion of the Senate chamber became a public hearing room for the Corporation Commission and the Board of Education.⁶²

Conclusion

Eventually accepted for both practical and aesthetic purposes, the wings actually violated the demands set forth in the original appropriations bill of April 2, 1902, demands on which many members of the legislature had been quite adamant. The complexities of the long project began

⁵⁸ Kummer, 37.

⁵⁹ Kimball, 480.

⁶⁰ Specifications for Fireproofing and Additions to the Virginia State Capitol (Richmond: n.p., ca. 1904), Virginia State Library, Richmond.

⁶¹ Journal of the Senate, 1906, Document 3.

⁶² Kummer, 40.

with the stipulation that no changes made to the Capitol could alter the exterior lines or contours of the building. In the end all was compromised. No matter how sensitively the architects dealt with the addition of wings, the entire massing and form of the building was transformed. The Capitol was no longer a rectangular temple in the Roman form, but a statehouse following the typical American form in which the two legislative bodies of government are aligned axially. Almost all state capitols constructed in the nineteenth century followed the paradigm developed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe in the U.S. Capitol. After the addition of the wings, the form of the Virginia State Capitol followed this model as well.

1962-64 RENOVATION

The Impetus for Renovation

The addition of the wings to the Capitol in 1904 satisfied the spatial requirements of the legislature and provided the extra space necessary for committee rooms and offices for the next several generations. But by 1950, the needs of the legislators had once again outgrown the facilities, the number of employees having increased significantly. Also, the influx of tourists placed another demand on the building. A quest for more space again became a major concern, so that in 1950 the Assembly formed a commission to study ways in which to enlarge the Capitol building. One plan suggested the accommodation of more committee rooms and offices by doubling the size of the 1904 wings on the north side. This proposal was not enthusiastically received by the Art Commission of Richmond, responsible for reviewing such projects, but continued to surface in Assembly sessions for the next five years.

Claiming that Assembly members suffered from the lack of adequate committee hearing rooms, office space and conference rooms, the Clerk of the House sought to support an \$875,000 request to build this addition onto the House and Senate wings.⁶⁴ The Art Commission re-emphasized its strong disapproval of such an addition and eventually vetoed the request, insisting that the addition would conceal the rear of the original building.⁶⁵ The veto of their own proposal must have encouraged the Capitol Building Commission to hire, in 1958, the firm Ballou and Justice to prepare plans for additional committee rooms on the ground and fourth floors, while the House of Delegates, in 1960, formed their own committee to improve the facilities.

Ballou and Justice

The July 1961 minutes of the Art Commission state that Lewis Watkins Ballou, of the architecture firm Ballou and Justice, presented plans to the commission that included an addition to the Capitol as well as an extensive renovation. He enthusiastically promoted the addition by insisting on the increased need for space and by emphasizing that a rehabilitation of the Capitol would be necessary (which alone would require at least half the funds of the total project) even if no additional space were gained. Furthermore, he claimed, the old Senate chamber was the only room with any dignity, and the others should be restored to their original condition. He outlined plans for other alterations, including transforming the fourth-floor storage space into committee rooms and offices, and removing the rooms from under the long, narrow passage toward the south portico.

⁶³ Kummer, 43.

⁶⁴ Richmond [Times] Dispatch, 27 April 1955.

⁶⁵ Kummer, 43.

For the addition, Ballou promoted the scheme advanced by architect E. Tucker Carlton, hired by the House to develop plans to improve the Capitol. The scheme consisted of widening the passages connecting the original building with the two wings and dismantling the exterior stairs (fig. 42). Smaller, less obtrusive stairs would be incorporated on the interior of the hyphens while the additional space could be used for offices and committee rooms. The Art Commission thoroughly considered the proposal. A number of factors encouraged their approval of the addition and alteration. First, the commission contended that the present facades of the wings were unattractive, and the existing granite steps were unsightly. Second, the increased width to the hyphens would not cause a remodeling of the original structure, and the alteration would have a better relationship to both the original building and the later wings. Finally and most important, they considered the additional space absolutely essential.⁶⁶

The Construction Phase

In contrast to past alterations, most notably that of 1902-06, the General Assembly approved the proposals without much protest. In 1962, the Assembly accepted the final plans and appropriated \$1.35 million for the modernization and addition to the Capitol building.⁶⁷ The work started in fall 1962, with completion targeted for December 1, 1963--in time for the General Assembly session in January of the new year.⁶⁸ According to this article, the site was chaotic--trenches covered the floors, walls were torn out, and outmoded electric conduits were ripped out--to be replaced by new, fireproof ones. More adequate facilities included the construction of a new elevator and the extension of the old one to the fourth floor, as well as the installation of air conditioning and new plumbing. The skylight in the House Chamber was closed and redesigned to be equipped with four different levels of light, while other fixtures around the building accommodated short vertical fluorescent tubes of varying color. The leaky tin roof was replaced to prevent water damage, and the entire structure was to be restuccoed and repainted. Only the third floor, where the governor's office had been renovated a few years earlier, remained intact.⁶⁹

As for the addition, work proceeded according to the plans. Secondary stairs were removed on the exterior and hyphens were widened. The increased space inside was used to accommodate the stairs, committee and conference rooms and the fourth floor was divided into offices, as proposed. Furthermore, the basement press room was divided into a more efficient, functional area.

⁶⁶ Art Commission Minutes, 1958-64, in the Papers of Governor Thomas Stanley.

⁶⁷ Acts of the General Assembly, 1962, Ch. 640, Item 566.

Warren Strother, "Restoring the Capitol Behind Mr. Jefferson's 1785 Walls: A Interior for 1964," The Commonwealth (30 February 1963), 21.

⁶⁹ Strother, 22-23.

The Proposed Expansion of 1974

Despite a vast effort in the early 1970s to again alter and reconstruct the Capitol for more offices, conference and hearing rooms, the building has undergone no major modifications since the renovation of 1964. However, a series of propositions to increase space were made in the 1970s.⁷⁰

Two plans, in particular, would have resulted in drastic changes, not only to the Capitol, but also to the surrounding Capitol Square. The South Lawn Plan called for new Senate and House chambers to be built partially sunk into the hillside (fig. 43). A series of terraces would lead up from Bank Street to the temple on the hill. The Senate favored another, the North Lawn Plan, which called for sinking new Senate and House chambers in a subterranean plaza that would stretch north to the old City Hall and would accommodate underground parking facilities. The legislature would then transfer its functions to these underground "tombs," the tops of which would protrude above ground. The original Capitol with its wings would be left solely as a museum.

The project, which would have cost \$31 million, was lambasted by critics ranging from the Art Commission, which objected to the violence it would do to Jefferson's design, to the Virginia Landmarks Commission, the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, the Virginia Garden Club, architects nationwide, and finally to local citizens. On March 1, 1974, The Richmond Newsleader stated that the expansion project was put off indefinitely due to the resounding criticism aroused by the proposal. The article said that a resolution had passed in the General Assembly refusing the multimillion dollar proposal, yet some construction was stipulated. This included the erection of new stairs inside the Capitol and the addition of exits from the House and Senate chambers that had only one and two, respectively. Today, the General Assembly building at the corner of Broad and Ninth streets, adjacent to the Capitol, but not on the square, houses offices and committee rooms for the legislators, while the General Assembly sessions continue to be held in the wings of the Capitol building.

Fortunately for Capitol Square and Richmond, the different interest groups and local citizens had the foresight to vehemently oppose such a construction. As it exists today, the main block of the Capitol building is a tribute to Jefferson's design, while the continued activities of the wings keep the complex from existing solely as an attraction for visitors. Furthermore, underground construction would have transferred all the movement of Capitol Square to below surface and would have greatly transformed the historic aspect of the Capitol and its setting.

⁷⁰ Richmond [Times] Dispatch, 22 February 1974.

CONCLUSION

The Virginia State Capitol will soon be celebrating its 200th anniversary. It survives as the second-oldest state capitol still in operation and is continually admired both because of its history and its architecture. Thomas Jefferson's design, based on the Maison Carree, is the earliest known American example of the adaptation of an ancient architectural form to modern purposes. In choosing to introduce the Roman temple form into America, Jefferson greatly influenced the architectural tastes of the young nation with a style that persisted well into the 1830s and 1840s.

For Jefferson, this reconciliation of classical model and modern function was a new design problem. He was also faced with the problem of how to symbolically represent, yet physically separate, the three branches of government. Unable to house each in separate buildings as originally hoped, he was never successful in architecturally illustrating this separation. The judicial and legislative bodies were housed on the first floor, while the legislative and executive branches counterbalanced one another on the floor above. Although Jefferson's Capitol never became a standard for later state houses, the use of a classical structure as a model was unprecedented in America at the time.

The Virginia State Capitol has received a generous amount of attention since it was first erected. As early as 1796, prominent visitors such as the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt were favorably impressed by the still-unfinished Capitol. A few years later, even architects well-versed in Neoclassicism remarked on the building's beauty. By the middle of the nineteenth century, histories of the city began to appear in which the Capitol was a major entry.

The building was constructed according to Jefferson's plans, but some major modifications were made that greatly altered the Capitol's intended appearance. A number of factors, including the lack of available materials and skilled craftsmen, the absence of a complete set of drawings, financial constraints, and Jefferson's distance from Richmond set the stage for these compromises. Some of these factors, such as the lack of materials, caused ongoing problems. For example, a series of roofs were installed that were never completely adequate, and new and different materials were continually sought to overcome these problems. But, despite the inadequacies that continued to plague the structure, the building as executed remained essentially unchanged until the addition of 1904. This addition, the most drastic alteration to the Capitol, was a polemic issue precisely because the original block was intact. It was, therefore, a difficult alteration for some individuals to accept.

For two years the plans and details for the enlargement were scrutinized and changed. While the General Assembly was desperate for more space, no hasty decision that might compromise the original structure was going to satisfy the legislators. The building committee insisted that Jefferson's design be respected and that the addition not alter the original lines. The solution adopted—one that would probably not appeal to preservationists today—was quite sympathetic to the original structure. The committee, while not conscious of "preserving" an historic structure, was preoccupied with the idea of retaining a building whose symbolic and historical value was great.

On December 19, 1960, the Virginia State Capitol (a k a the Confederate Capitol) was designated a National Historic Landmark. Thus, in contrast to the manner in which the 1904 building committee treated the issue of preservation, the building commission of 1962-64 was bound by preservation ethics and a design-review board. Plans for the renovation of the Capitol had to pass before the Art Commission of Richmond, which had final authority. With the drastic measures proposed in 1974 came a series of outbursts and criticisms. No addition that altered the building or site would progress very far. The commission of 1902-04 had the insight to protect the building from total alteration and demolition, while the various groups involved in the 1970s refused even the slightest attempts at change.

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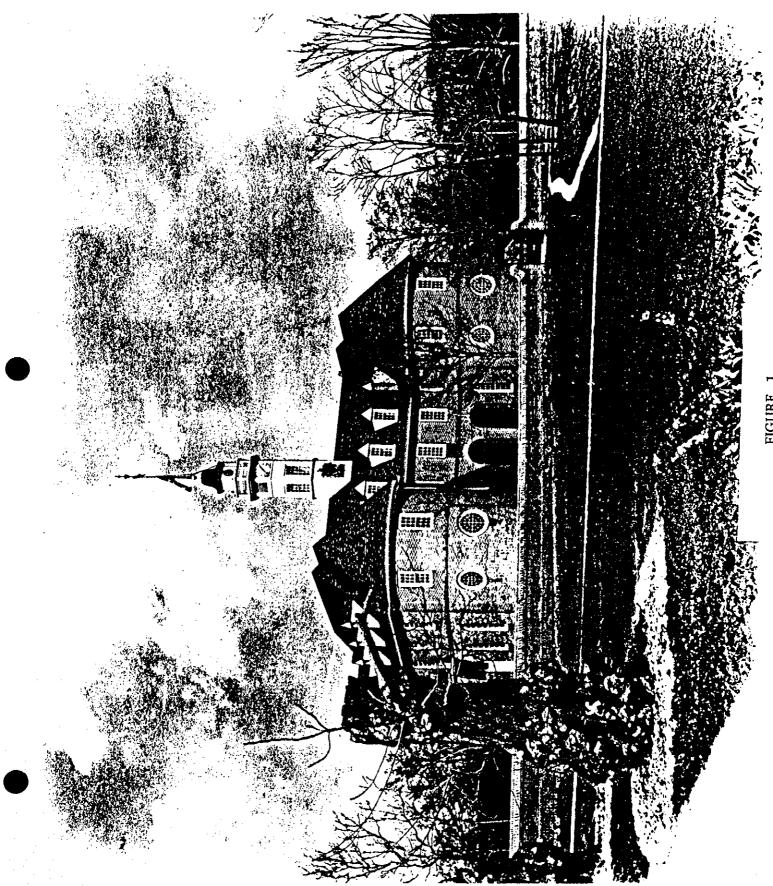
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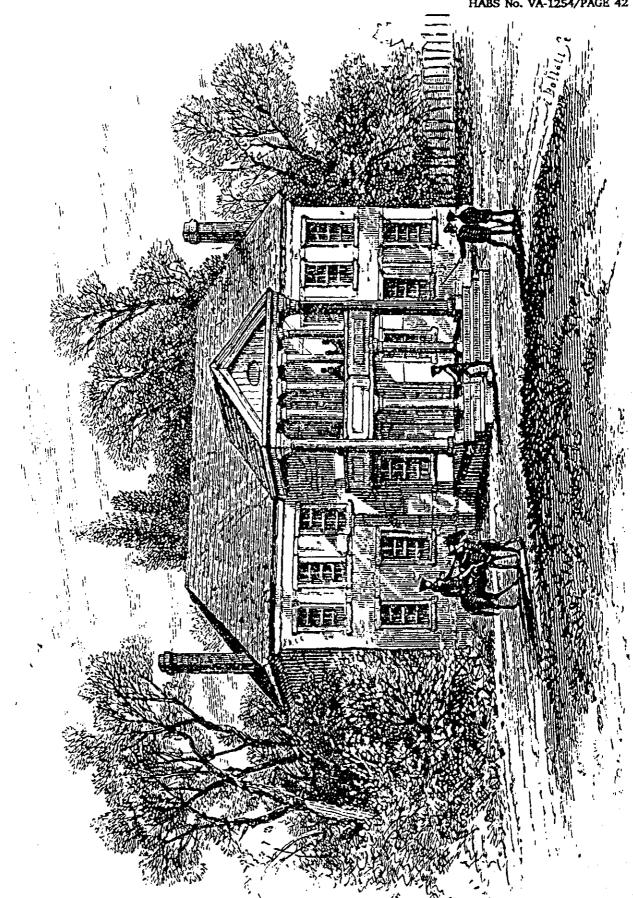
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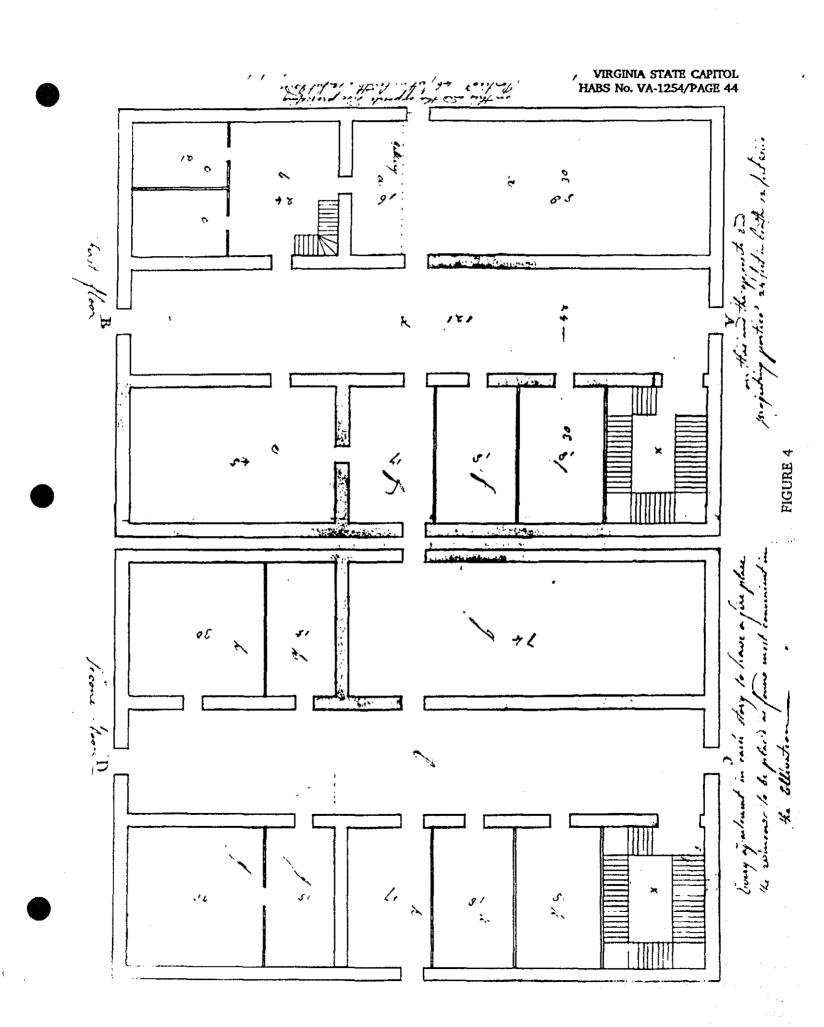
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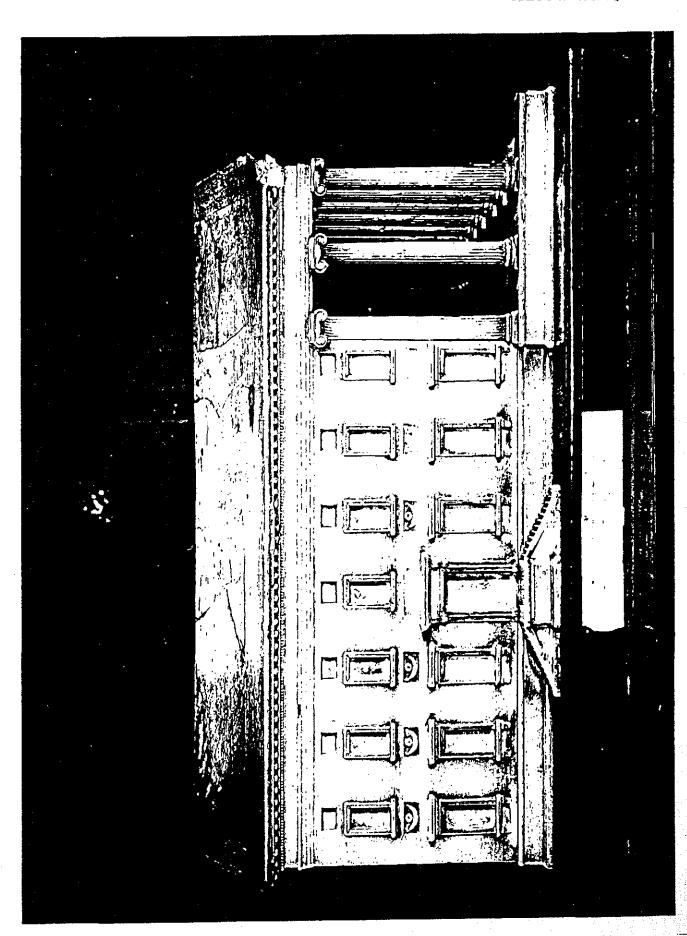
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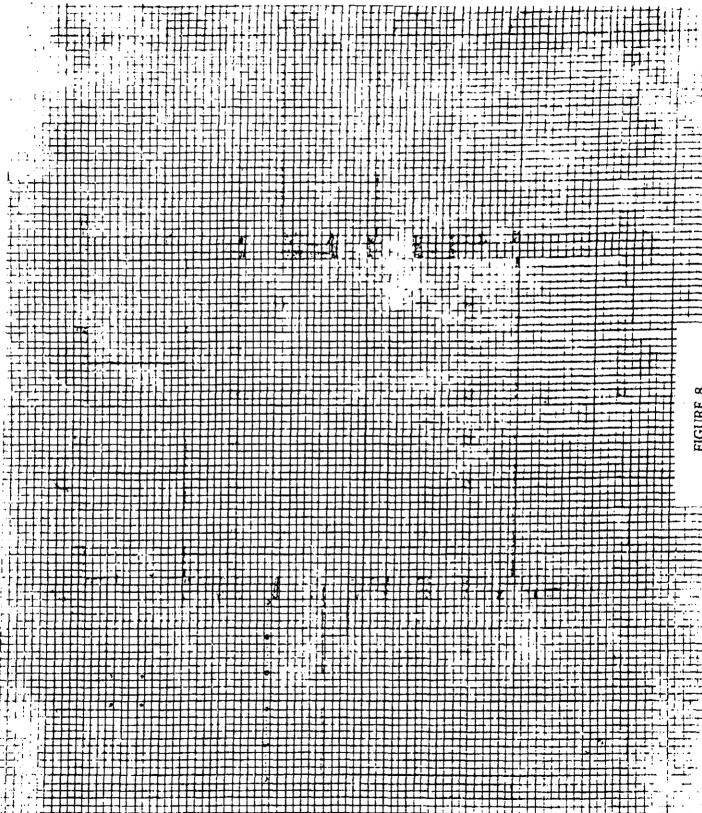
FIGURE 3



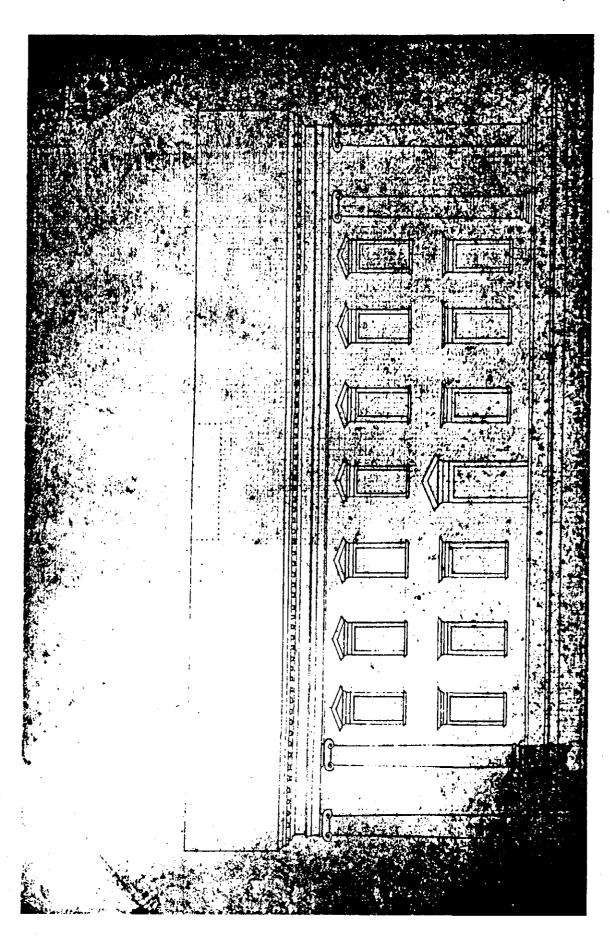


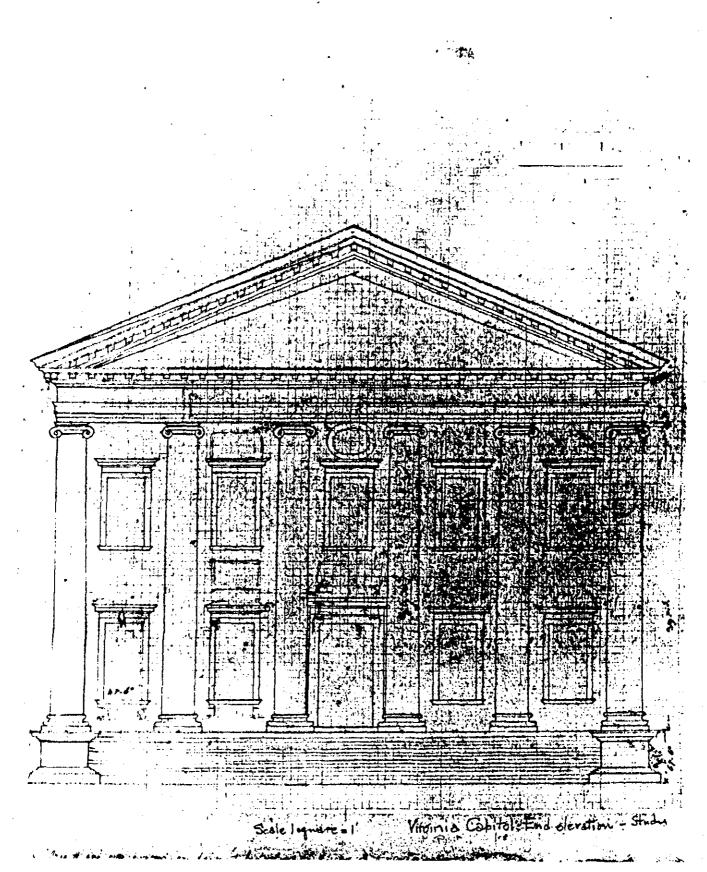


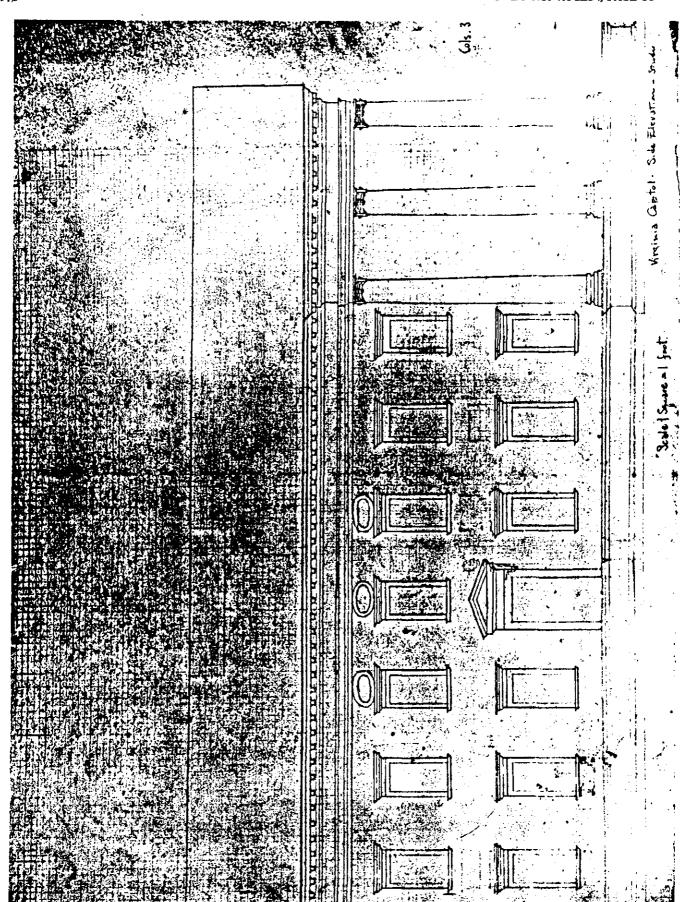




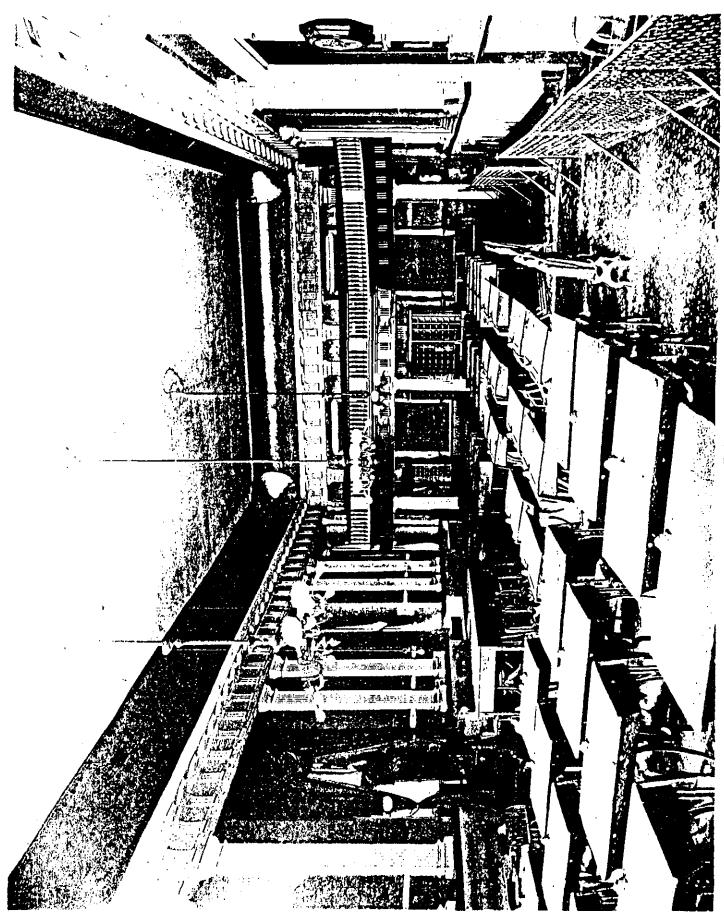
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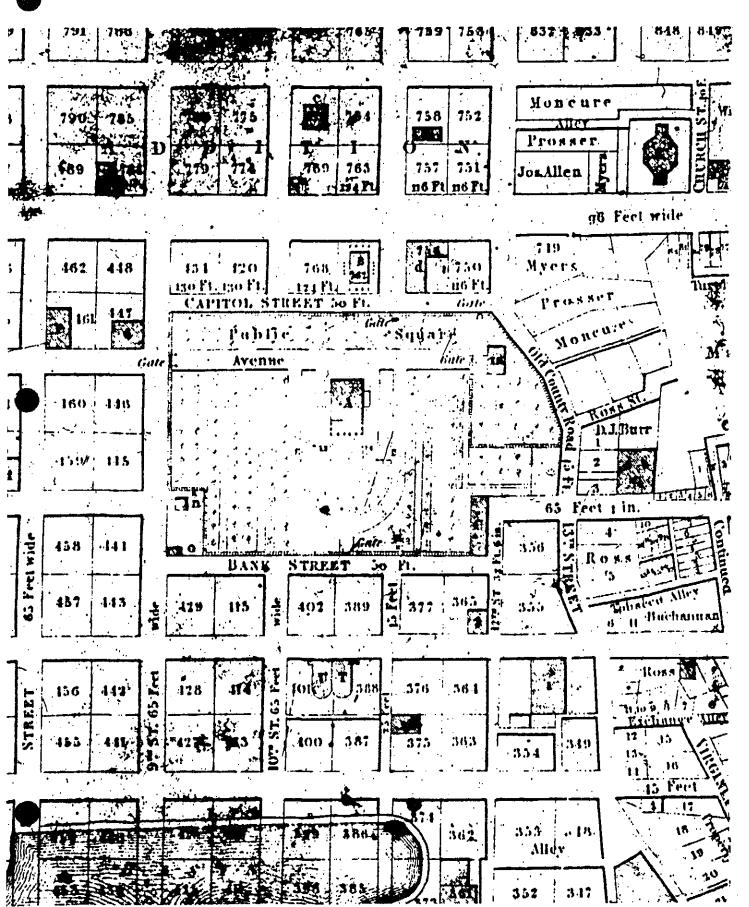


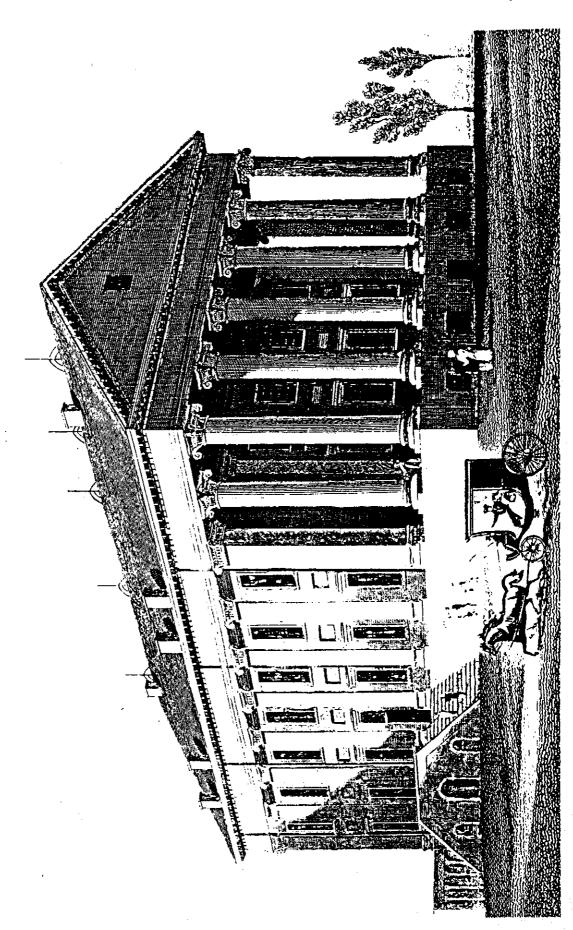


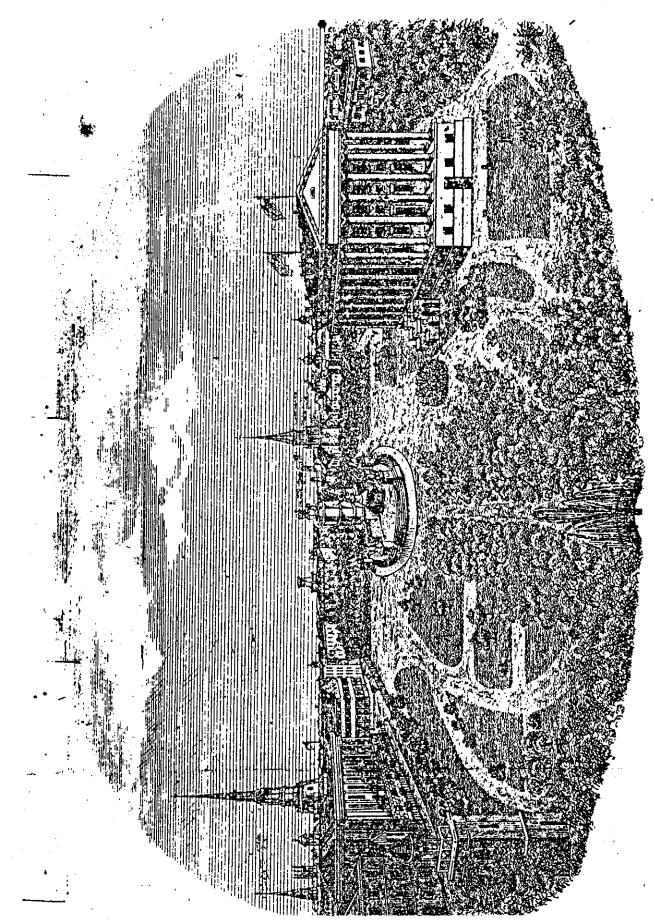


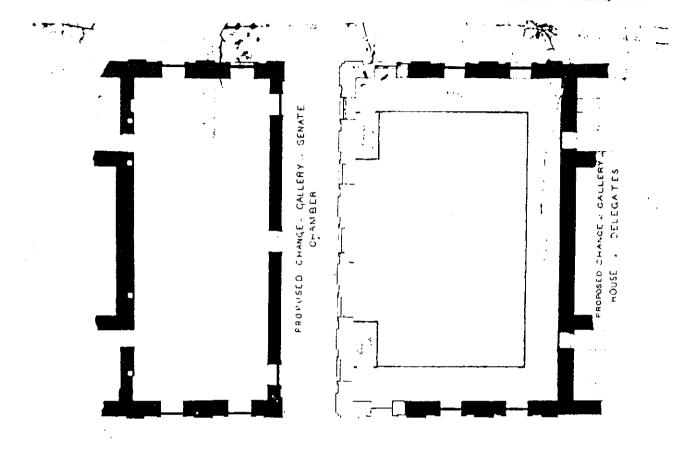


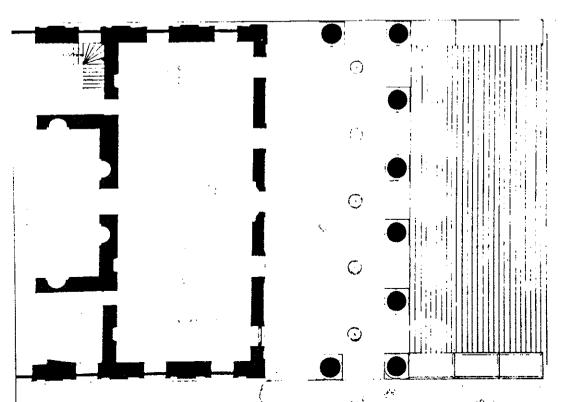




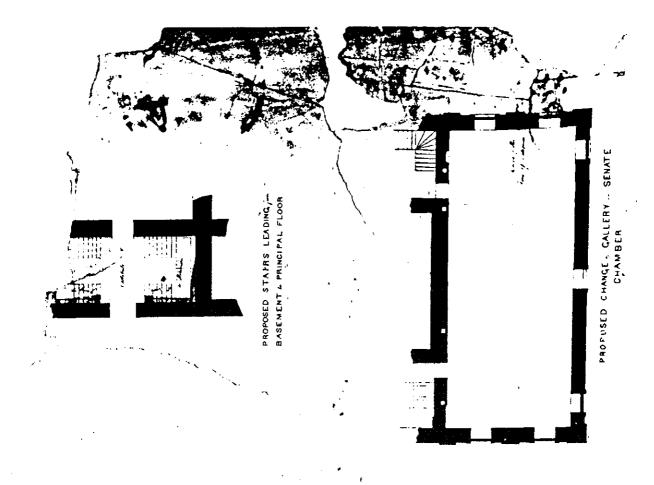


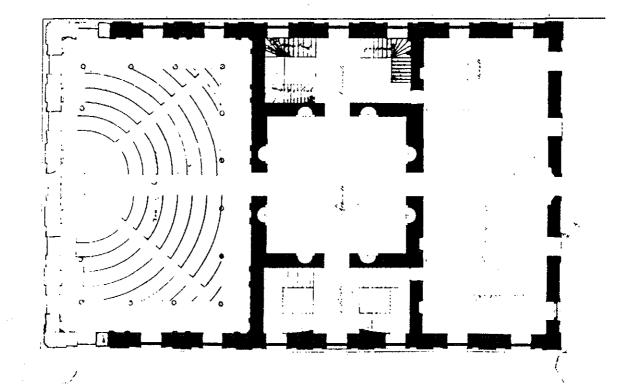






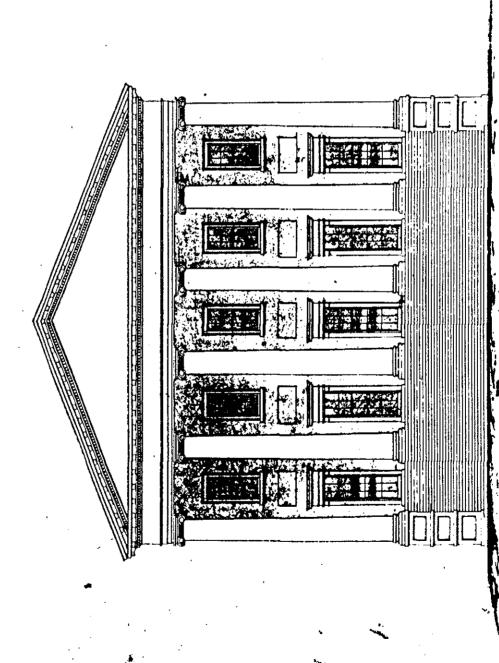
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FIGURE 22



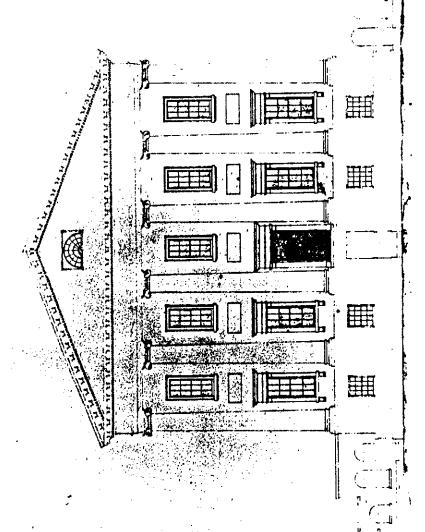
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VIRGINIA STATE CAPITOL HABS No. VA 124/PAGE 64 3 Ш Ш

STATE CAPITOL

RICHMOND VINCINIA

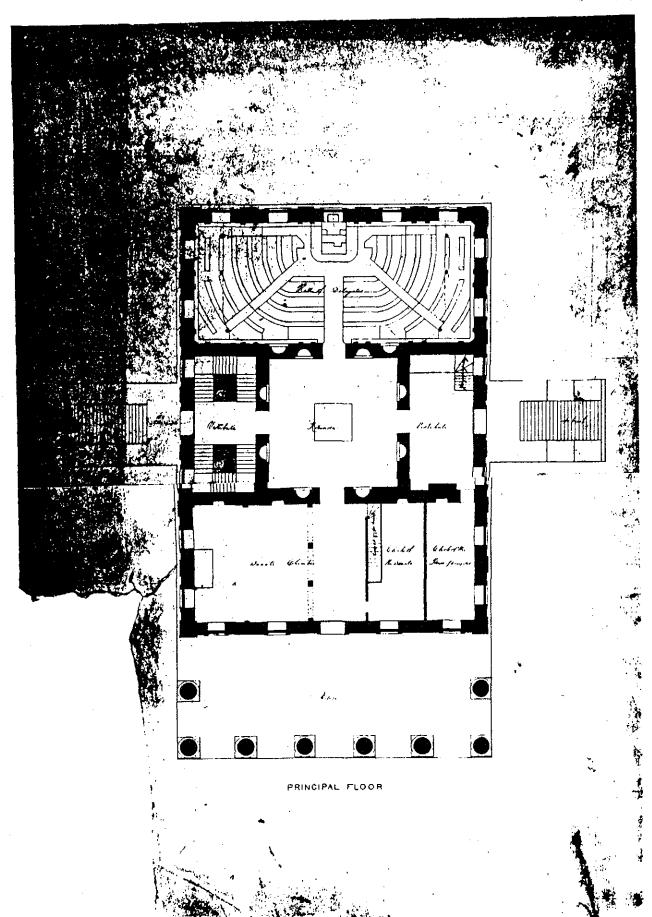


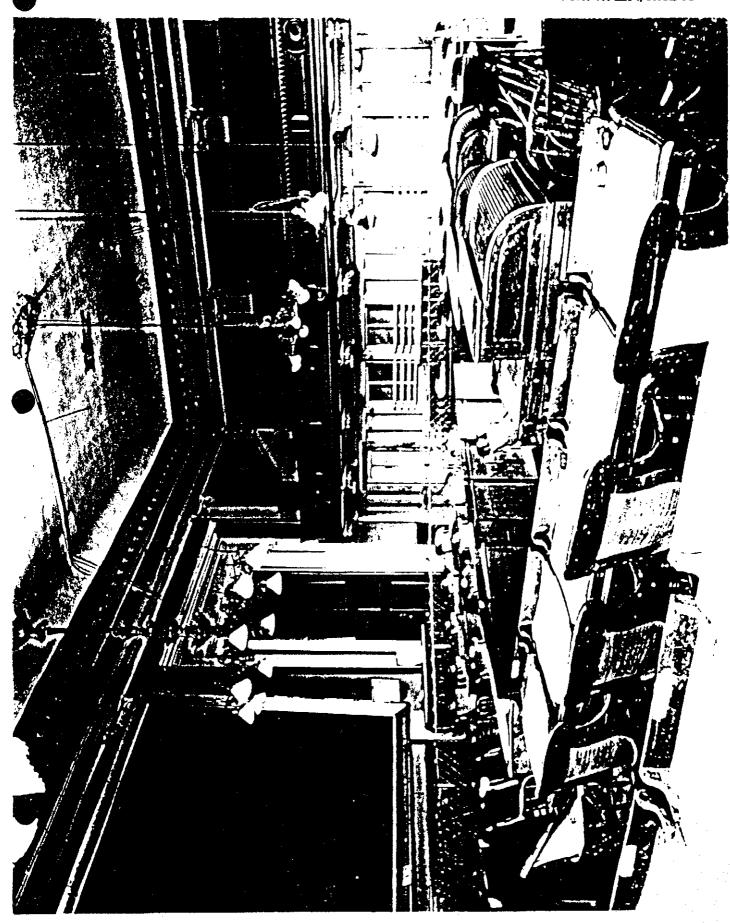
STATE HOUSE RICHHOND.VA. GURE 24

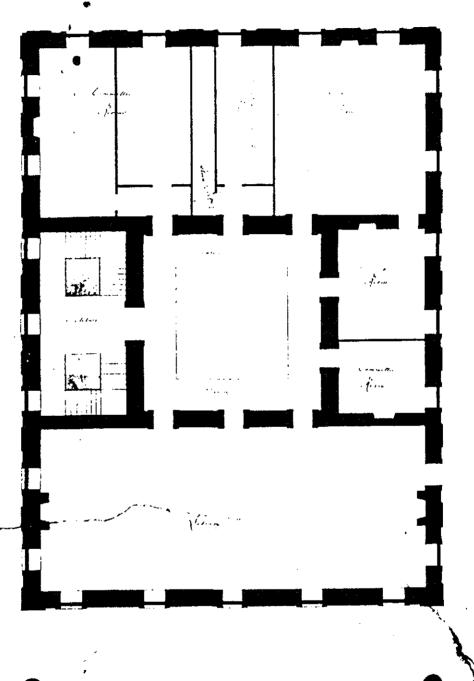
FIGURE 25

STATE HOUSE.

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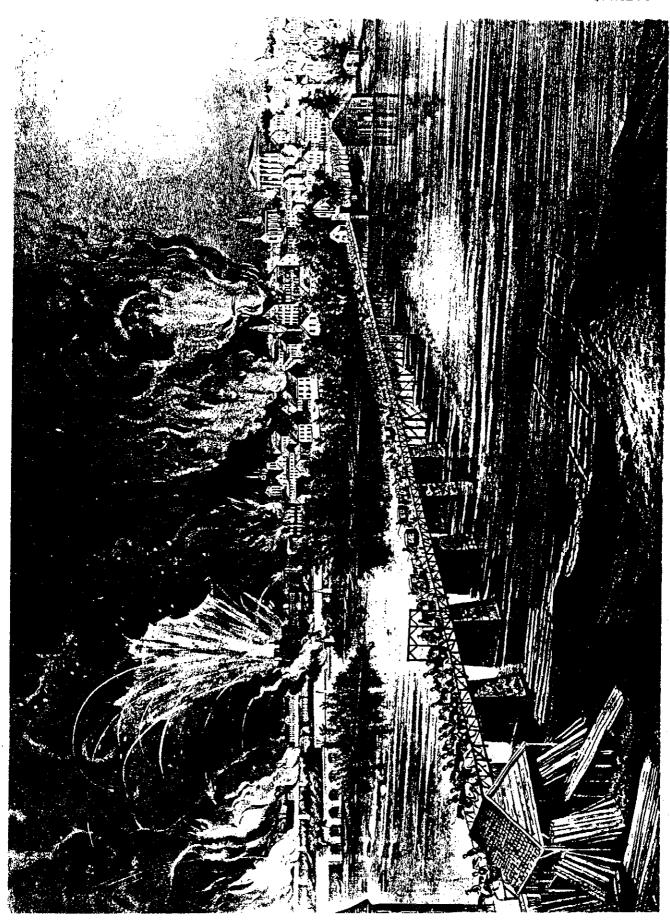


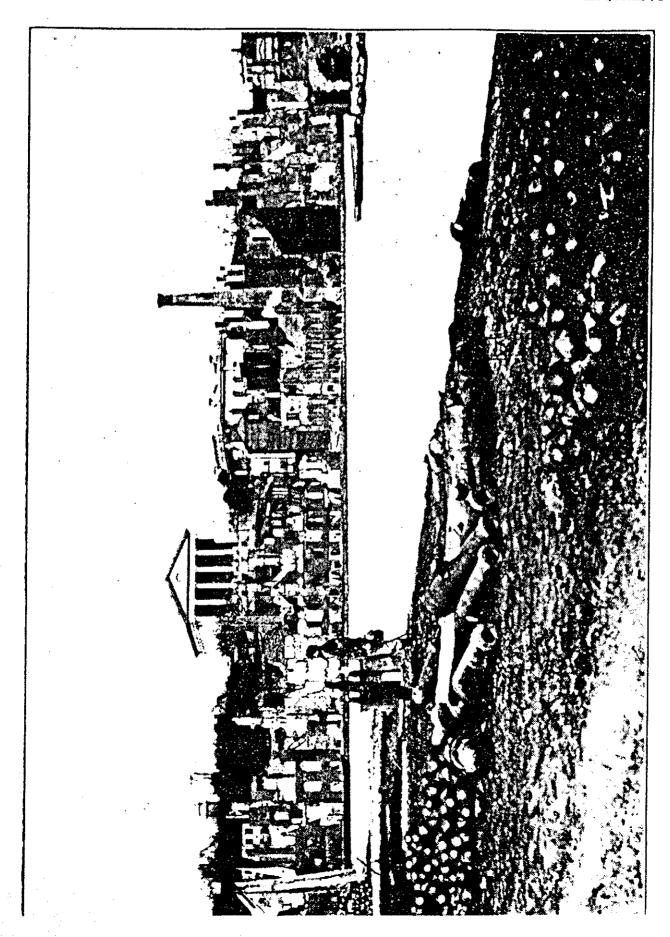




SECOND STORY

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THURSDAY MAY 15, 1902 THREE CI EFFERSON MODEL REVIVED. THE DESIGN FOR THE CAPHOL a Price ally Adopted by the Captot Commission.

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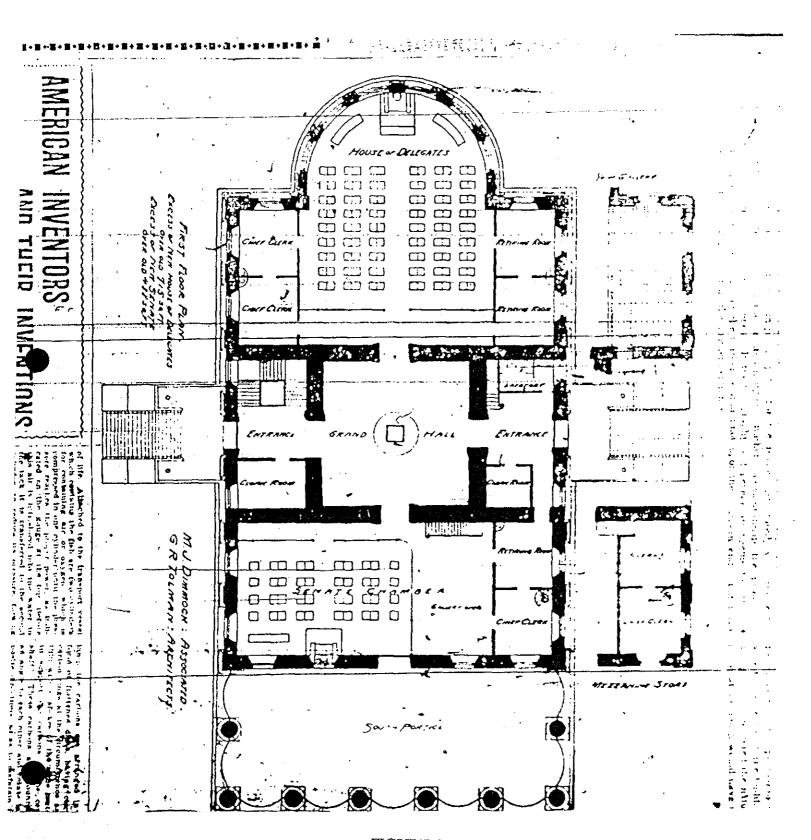
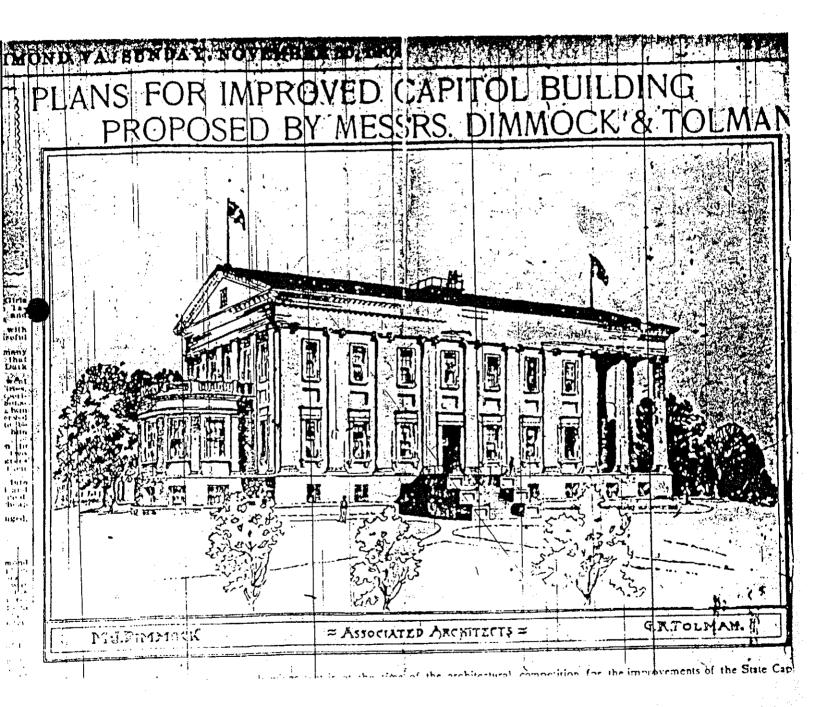
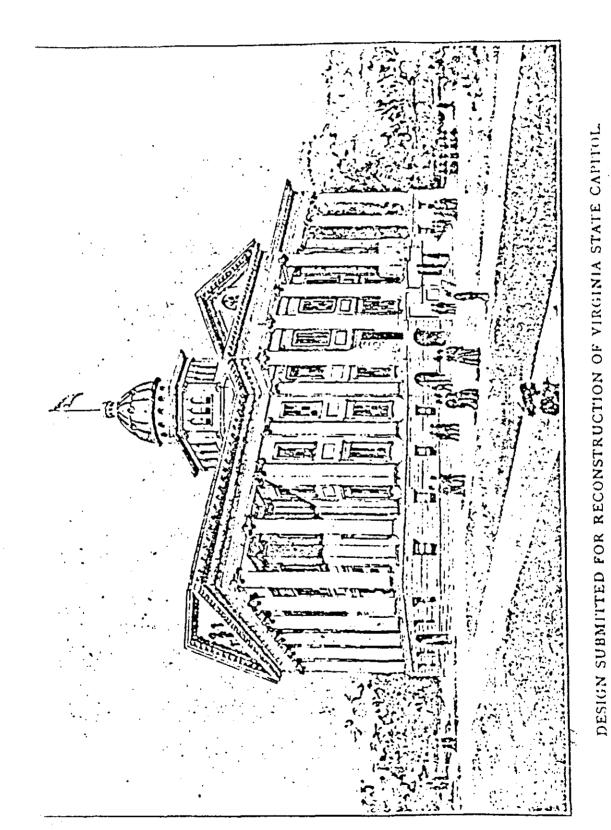


FIGURE 34





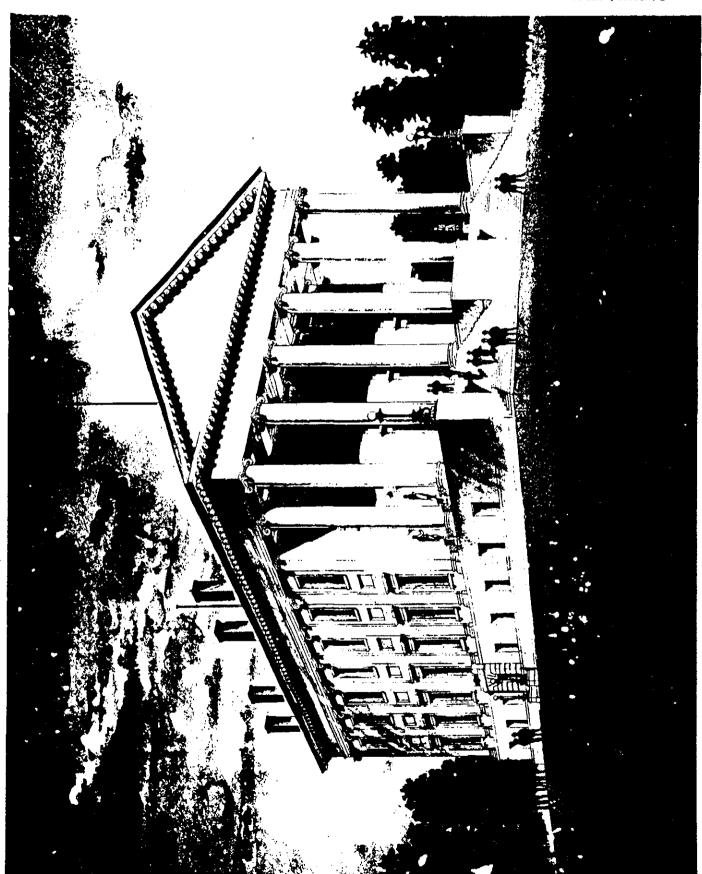
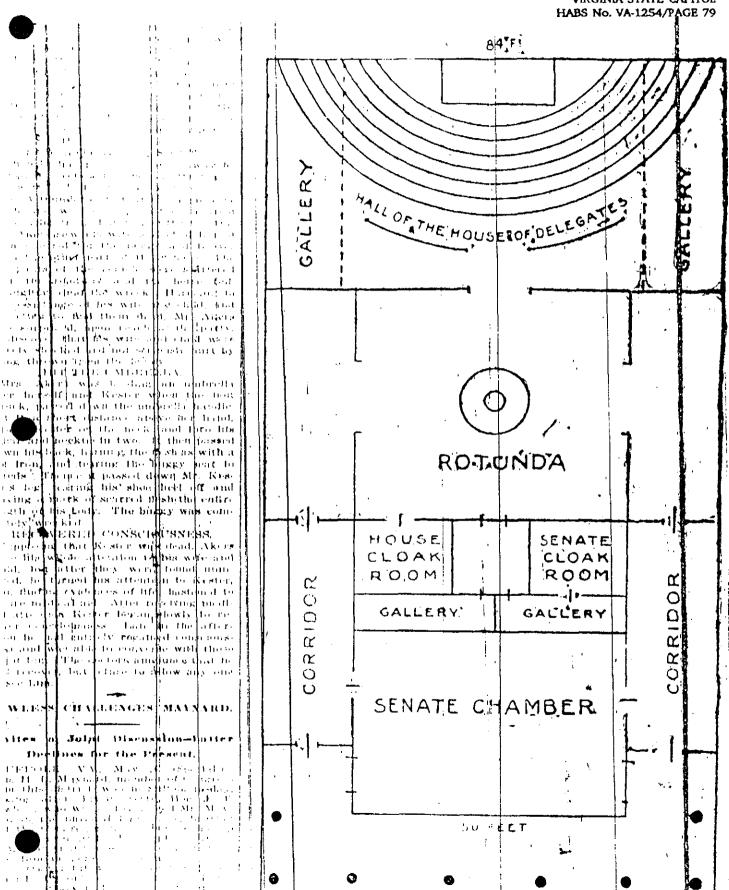


FIGURE 38



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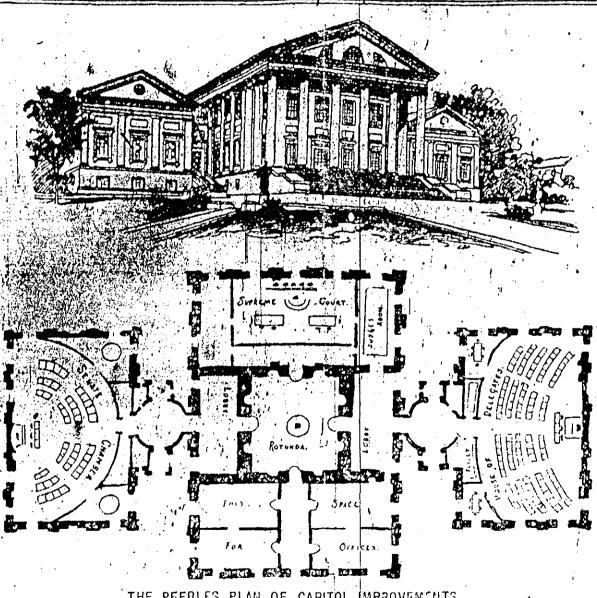
RICHMOND VA. Sunday DECEMBER 14-1902

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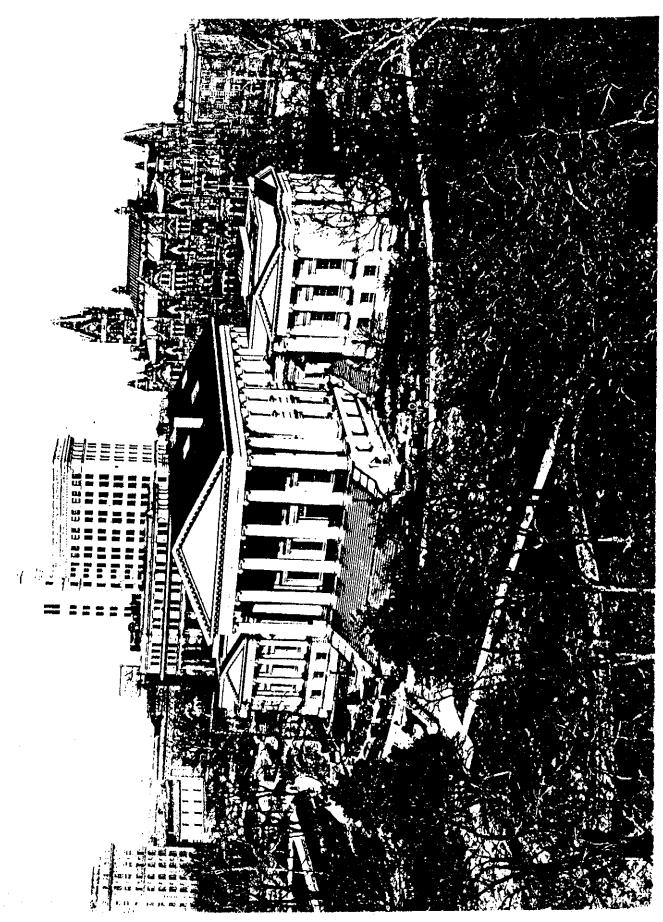
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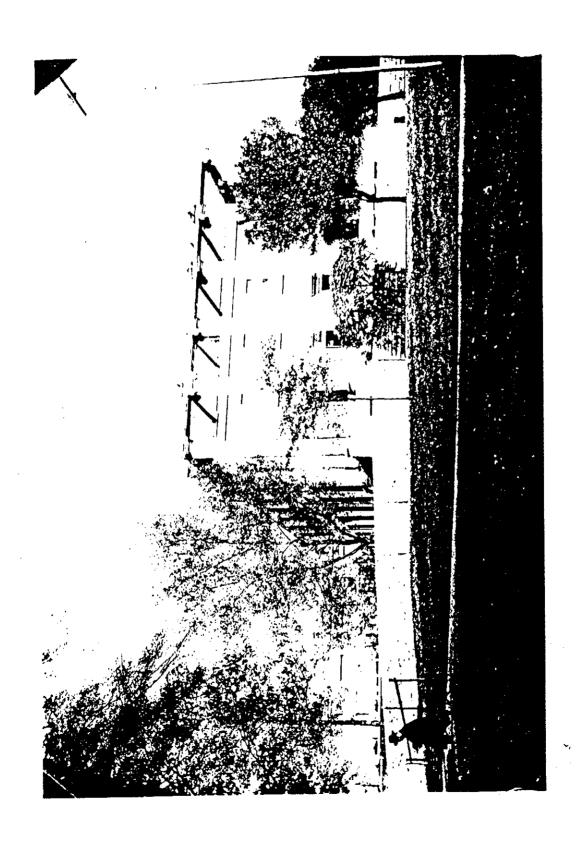
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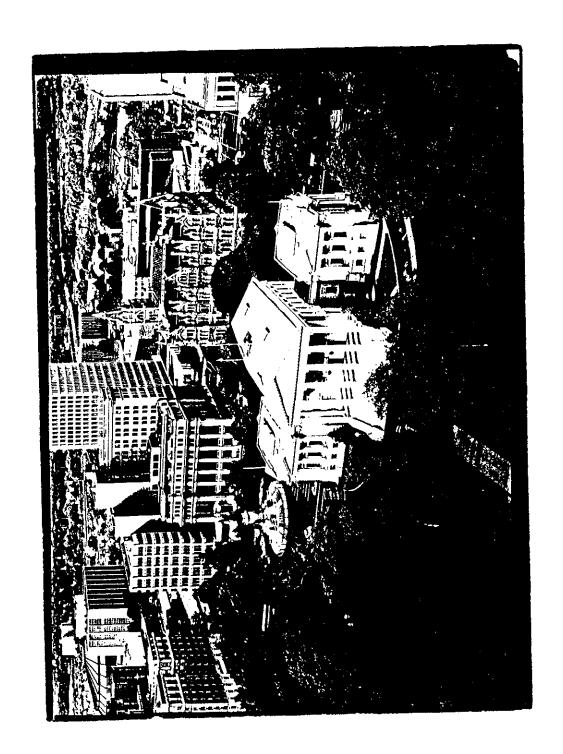
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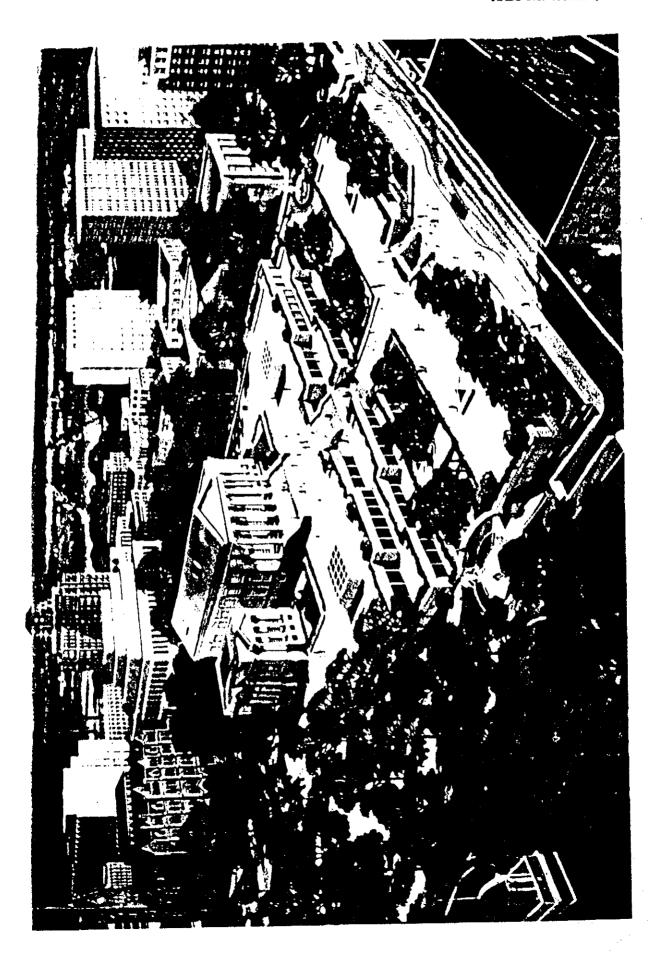
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